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# THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF NIGERIA

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AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF NIGERIA TOGETHER WITH A REPORT ON THE 1921 DECENNIAL CENSUS

BY

C. K. MEEK

B.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I.

LATE EXHIBITIONER OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD
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# VII

# RELIGION

A. Public Aspect. *Islam—Ancestor worship—Skull worship—The tutelary genius—Fetishism—Naturism and polydaemonism—Polytheism—The Supreme Being—Cosmological beliefs—Conception of the soul and of the future life—Human sacrifice—Priesthood—Agricultural rites—Head-hunting and cannibalism—King-killing and rain-making—Divination and omens.*

B. Private Aspect. *Birth ceremonies—Circumcision—Initiation—Secret societies—Marriage ceremonies—Death and burial customs.*

## A. Public Aspect

*Islam.* The introduction into Africa of the religion of Muhammad was a momentous event for the Western Sudan. Not only did it entail profound changes in the ethnic composition of the peoples, but it brought with it a new civilization, which gave to the Negroid races the distinctive cultural character which they bear to-day, dominating their political life and social institutions. We have seen that most of the great tribal movements of the last thousand years were directly or indirectly due to the displacements caused by the advance of Islam, and even as late as the nineteenth century it is to Muhammadanism that we have to ascribe the political revolution effected by the Fulani and the entry of the Kanembu tribes into Bornu. Islam has also had a profound effect on the chief Nigerian languages, most of which contain many Arabic roots.

*Distribution and General Character.* Muhammadanism is to-day the religion of the great majority of the peoples

of Hausaland and Bornu, and Islamic culture has even penetrated to many pagan tribes who have not yet been "converted." As Islam was first introduced into the north, it is the north that is most completely Islamized, but Nupeland and Yorubaland are already strongly Muhammadan. There are, however, large areas which have not yet been Islamized.[1]

We know little of the condition of Muhammadanism during the centuries that preceded the Fulani jihad. If we can credit Leo Africanus, the people of Katsina and Kano were still half-naked barbarians in the middle of the sixteenth century, and even according to the Muslim Hausa chronicles there were many backslidings on the part of both chiefs and peoples. The Hausa are perhaps too easy-going and worldly to be over-susceptible to religious influences. In 1804 Shehu Usuman characterized the court of Gobir as being little better than heathen; drunkenness and immorality were general, prayers were offered to the dead, honour was paid to the departed saints, women went unveiled, no attempt was made to spread the faith, and even in Bornu the chiefs took part in pagan sacrifices. The jihad no doubt did much to purify religion, but, judging by the condition of Islam in Nigeria to-day, we can easily believe that the Shehu's charges were well founded. Lander tells us how the Muslim chief of Busa at the Ramadan festival used to offer prayers to his own gods, "for he is still a pagan, though he employs Muhammadan priests to pray for him."

Oldfield noticed at Rabba several bottles of Portuguese spirits in the hands of a daughter of Usuman Zaiki, the Fulani Governor of Nupeland. Some of the Igbira chiefs,

[1] The census returns showed that 67 per cent. of the total population was Muhammadan, and 33 per cent. Animist.

Fig. 91. A Bornu *Malam*

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though of Muslim faith, kept pagan shrines in their houses. Even to-day many of the less-enlightened Muslim rulers keep at their court pagan priests to direct and guide them as occasion requires. Traditional pagan rites are frequently observed on ascending the throne, and, in recent times, one well-known Fulani Emir in a chief Muhammadan centre carried out annually a pagan rite, the successful performance of which secured him on the throne for the ensuing year. The Muslim chiefs of Akwian and Hardawa (Katagum) on their election solemnly do obeisance to a sacred tree.

Though there are many learned Muslims in northern Nigeria inspired with the spirit of true religion, the general mass of the followers of the Prophet are like children, imitating without comprehending, and believing that the public observance of prescribed formulae raises them in the eyes of Allah, as it does in those of their fellow men. Their religious outlook is little wider than that of the pagans they despise. The Koran is their fetish no less than the village idol, stone, or tree ; to swear falsely on the Koran would name certain death ; while to drink the ink from which Koranic texts are written is a cure for every ill. They are believers still in sorcery and magic, and ward off all manner of evil influences by surrounding their necks, arms, and waists with Koranic amulets and talismans. Hundreds of mendicant malams earn an easy livelihood by selling these magic wares.

Muslims in building houses commonly bury charms at every corner to ward off the entry of evil spirits. The Giddan Shitima in Kano, the Resident's town house, is in this way protected by four pots filled with " medicine." Muslim hunters have hundreds of charms, and so have Muslim thieves. Impostors who pretend to have risen

from the dead abound, and are readily believed. I had personal knowledge of two of these men. One was for years revered almost as a saint until his incarceration a short time ago for attempted murder ! The other got into somebody else's grave one night and, speaking as a spirit returned from Lahira, directed a well-known Hausa-Gwari chief (who was also an accomplished scholar) to receive into his compound and load with presents an accomplice, with whom presumably he shared the proceeds ! Many so-called Muslims still believe in the power of pagan priests to control the rain supply, and to change the course of Nature in a variety of ways. The belief in the ability of individuals to turn into animals is universal among the general mass of Muslims. There are also Muslim communities (*e.g.* at Kusheriki) where the Ramadan festival is begun and ended with pagan rites. The prevalence of *bori*,[1] the practice of holding funeral feasts, the elaborate marriage festivals and dances, and the indiscriminate repetition of unauthorized prayers, are also to be classed among the numerous breaches of the Muslim law.

Thus on the spiritual side Islam in Nigeria is but a poor imitation of the lofty religion of the Prophet. If we consider Islam as a political, social, and economic factor the case is very different. Islam has brought civilization to barbarous tribes. It has converted isolated pagan groups into nations ; it has made commerce with the outside world possible, and has thus been a chief instrument in the development of the commercial instinct which has made the Hausa, Nupe, Yoruba, and Beri-Beri famous ; it has broadened the outlook, raised the standard of living by creating a higher social atmosphere, and has conferred on its followers dignity, self-respect, and respect for others.

[1] See vol. i. p. 298.

The intellectual and political superiority of the Muslim communities is due chiefly to their religion. Islam introduced the art of reading and writing, and by the prohibition of the use of alcohol, of cannibalism, blood revenge, and other barbarous practices, it has enabled the Sudanese Negro to become a citizen of the world.

*Organization.* The religious organization of Muhammadans is democratic. There is no marked distinction between clergy and laity. The head of the congregation is the *liman*, who may be any one chosen by the people, his sole qualification being a good character and a fair acquaintance with the Koran. He leads the prayers of the people and delivers the address. There is no central organization of the limans : each is independent. He and the *malams* (a term covering all who have some knowledge of the Koran) are supported by the voluntary offerings of the people. One of their main duties is the education of the young. The fabrication of amulets is usually their chief source of income.

Malams are also doctors, and make medicines of roots and leaves. They divine the future by means of the Koran. Many of the malams are mere parasites on society. Even those who have pupils entrusted to their care will often use them simply for the begging of alms. Many, too, who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, obtain thereby a fictitious reputation for sanctity, which they exploit for the rest of their lives. Some of the malams, however, are men of genuine piety and learning, and lead the life of recluses. In most Muslim communities prayers are said regularly every day. The two great Muslim festivals ('Îd̂ al-Fitr and 'Îd̂ al-Adhâ) are generally observed, being known as the *Karamin Salla* and the *Baban Salla* (*i.e.* the small and the great *Salla*).

The Sultan of Sokoto is regarded as the spiritual head of all the Muslims of the Central Sudan, being known as "Sarkin Musulmi." Until the beginning of this century his influence extended as far as Timbuktu in the west and Agades in the north (but not apparently to Bornu, where the Shehu held a religious position analogous to that of the Sultan of Sokoto).

There are various religious orders, designed originally, like the Christian orders, for the revival and advancement of religion. The chief of these in the Sudan are the Kadiriya, Tijaniya, and Senussiya. The two former have a fair number of adherents in Nigeria, especially the Tijaniya, a school which takes its name from the Algerian teacher Sidi Ahmed el Tijani. Local risings throughout the Sudan have generally been due to enthusiasts of this sect. The Senussiya school has little direct influence as far south as northern Nigeria, but there are, I believe, a few adherents in Bornu and Sokoto. It has not attempted any political propaganda. There is little to distinguish members of these religious schools from ordinary Muslims, beyond the fact that they are inclined towards puritanism, and are supposed to recite daily the *zikr* (which they do not often understand). Professor Westermann remarks that these orders, which occasionally go in for mysticism, have taken the place of pagan secret societies.

Mosques are to be seen in every Muslim town. In the small villages the mosque is simply a rectangular space enclosed with logs of wood. Women are not allowed inside the mosques, but may say their prayers outside.

*Propaganda and Progress.* There is among Muslims to-day no organized missionary effort. The faith is spread unconsciously, accidentally, and automatically through the ordinary channels of social intercourse. For the

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Muslim the jihad is the normal and legitimate method of converting the heathen, but throughout Nigerian history, especially in the later days of the Fulani Empire, holy wars were generally undertaken for the purely secular and selfish purpose of obtaining additional slaves. Many pagan communities no doubt embraced Islam in order to save themselves from slavery, but the Muslim rule that a believer cannot be sold as a slave was not always observed. Slaves were the main source of income for the Fulani states, and it was not therefore to the interests of the governors to make pagan converts.

Some genuine missionary effort, however, appears to have been made in the early days of Fulani rule, for Lander met, in an island village of the Niger, Fulani malams who had been expressly sent there by the Emir of Nupe to instruct the pagan inhabitants in the Muhammadan faith. Nevertheless the spread of Islam in Nigeria is to be attributed less to direct effort of this kind than to the immediate appeal which the superior culture of the Muslim makes to his pagan neighbour. The Muslim religion has undoubtedly made vast strides during the peaceful days of the British occupation. The easy-going Hausa has done more to spread Islam than the fanatical Fula.

A stop has been put to the spread of the faith by violence. By the opening of communications pagans and Muslims are coming into constant contact. The pagan who goes abroad from his home finds it convenient to adopt the Muslim garb and mode of life. He soon realizes the narrowness of his own religion compared to the universality of Islam. Nor is the transition from paganism to Islam very difficult. With the widened outlook he sees the necessity of a single Supreme Deity. With his pagan

ritual training he soon becomes accustomed to the Muslim formulae. His belief in evil spirits is not affected by his outward change of faith. He finds, too, that the Muslims are tolerant, and that they have better houses, better clothes, and a better knowledge of the world than he. Muslims frequently settle among pagans and marry pagan wives. These settlers are not uncommonly renegades who hope to make an easy living out of the ignorant and credulous pagans. As a rule, however, their intentions are honest ; they become friends with the pagans, and soon obtain an influence which they do not abuse. The chief stumbling-block to the spread of Islam is the prohibition of alcohol. To the pagan beer is not merely " the cup that cheers " (and inebriates), it is also a sustaining food. Pagans are introduced into Islam by having the whole body washed and by a public declaration in the mosque.

*Education.* There are schools in every Muslim town, conducted privately by malams. The children are sent at a very early age—sometimes at three or four—by parents who wish to save themselves the trouble of looking after their offspring. Frequently the children are handed over to the care of teachers who live in a different town, or even to malams who have no fixed abodes at all, combining trading with their educational work. Ordinarily in the big centres the children attend classes for an hour in the morning and an hour at night. Females also receive instruction. The lessons are generally given before sunrise and just after sunset, so that the boys can work in the fields during the day. The children are first taught the *salat,* and are then gradually instructed in reading the Koran (in Arabic), the various moral duties, the correct responses, different kinds of washings, and

other ritual. The Arabic lesson is read out by all the children in a loud voice. (There is no more pleasing sound than that of the piping voices of these little boys and girls as they repeat the words of their teacher round the village fire.)

The more advanced pupils learn running commentaries on the Koran (known as *jilalene*), and no one would be considered an accomplished malam who was not well versed in the Muslim traditions. The mechanical methods employed are singularly ineffective, and the majority of the pupils never attain anything more than a smattering of Arabic. They are taught to memorize long passages of the Koran, the meaning of which they do not understand. Even the most learned and cultured malams are wholly untouched by any of the liberalism of modern Islam; metaphysics, mathematics, and the modern sciences are quite outside their ken. Nevertheless, there have been among Nigerian Muslims some men of fairly comprehensive learning. Shehu dan Fodio, for example, was an eminent author of theological works, and his son Belo was a noted grammarian and historian.

The teachers are paid by occasional gifts of money, and at the conclusion of the course by a present of a sheep or goat. About three per cent. of the Muslim population can read and write.

*Political Aspect.* The political and social institutions of Islam appear to be eminently suited to the Negro character, especially, perhaps, that of the Sudanese Negro who has some admixture of Hamitic or Mediterranean blood. They would seem to offer to him an easy stepping-stone to higher things. In their recognition of polygyny, circumcision, the prohibitions of certain foods, slavery, and various other practices, they demand no departure from

primitive Negro customs. In proclaiming the supremeness of Allah, Islam announces nothing fundamentally new, for we shall see that most of the animistic peoples of Nigeria recognize the Sky God as the Supreme Controller of the Universe.

How far the existence of Negro states is to be ascribed to the introduction of Muhammadan political ideas cannot now be determined, but there are reasons for believing that the kingdoms of the Sudan evolved independently of Islam, and were possibly modelled on some such pre-Islamic state as that of Ghana. But even if this is so we must accord to the religion of Muhammad the credit of having introduced a unifying influence. It opened to the minds of secluded tribes a vista of a wider world, and although its violent methods caused the partial or entire disappearance of numerous communities, it is largely due to Islam that numbers of tribes are now, before our eyes, forming themselves into nations ; and it is largely due to Islam that the indirect government by Great Britain of this vast territory of northern Nigeria has been rendered possible.

The institution of slavery is a pivotal feature of Islamic society, and we are justified in charging Muhammadanism with the devastated and desolated condition in which northern Nigeria was found at the beginning of this century. Nevertheless we must remember that the pagan tribes themselves had been accustomed to enslave each other, and that the institution of slavery has been regarded by many historians as a necessary means of progress for tribes rising from a state of barbarism to that of commercial and industrial peoples.

Nigerian Muslims belong to the Maliki (some Bornu jurists to the Hanifah) school, interpreting the traditions

in the narrowest spirit of an uncritical scholasticism. Although many yearly make the pilgrimage to Mecca, the dry bones of their old theology have not been touched with the breath of modern liberal Islam. It is due to this conservatism, perhaps, that Nigeria is to-day free from the political disturbances that are now agitating other Muhammadan countries. There have been several local Muslim insurrections in northern Nigeria during the last twenty years. They were of evanescent character and had little political significance, having been organized by a few fanatical malams who hoped to regain some of the lost privileges of their religion. There are still small enclaves of passive resisters, but their influence does not extend beyond their own narrow circle. The general mass of Muslims have adapted themselves with energy and intelligence to the changed political conditions. Muslims, indeed, take the leading part in the administration of the affairs of the country.

*Pagan Religion.* The indigenous inhabitants of northern Nigeria are divided religiously, and also culturally, into two classes : (*a*) Muslims, (*b*) Pagans. This classification, convenient as it may be, is unsatisfactory both in respect of culture and of religion. In respect of culture there are many Muslims who are less " civilized " than some " pagans," and as a religious description the term " pagan " is unscientific. It is a negative term like Kafir or Protestant, and merely means non-Muslim and non-Christian. It does not carry with it any connotation of positive religious belief at all. We shall see, however, that the pagan tribes have one and all a very definite common religion—that of Animism. The pagans should therefore be described religiously as Animists. In tracing the course of their animistic beliefs we shall be able to trace a pro-

gressive development, and it will be convenient therefore to proceed from the simple to the complex, and from the most primitive forms of ancestor worship to the impersonation of the dead (or the worship of the Dodo or tutelary genius), to the attribution of a spirit to material objects (fetishism and spiritism), to the deification of natural phenomena (naturism), and finally to the extensive system of polytheism such as we find among the Yoruba and kindred tribes.

*Ancestor Worship.* Ancestor worship, using the term broadly, to cover all forms of the cult of the dead is the predominating religious influence. It is especially prominent among the Bantoid tribes, and among the Sudanic tribes it forms the background, and is indeed the *raison d'être* for the cult of the tutelary genius known as the *Dodo*.[1] We shall find also that the tribal god is usually merely the deified tribal ancestor, and that the idolatry of such peoples as the Pindiga Jukun is a natural development of the worship of the founder of their tribe. Ancestor worship is based on the almost universal belief in the persistence after death of the human soul. A man who lives to a good old age has a vigorous soul, and when he goes to the next world he takes with him his spiritual power. He can assist and protect his tribe. He is the intermediary between his family and the unknown forces that control the universe. When he leaves the world he must therefore be sent off with due respect, and properly equipped with all that he may require. Thus, as we shall see, when we come to study the burial customs of the people, the dead man is commonly provided with a meal on the funeral day ; part of his property is buried with him in the grave ; and (prior to the British occupation), if he were a great

[1] See definition given, vol. i. p. xvi.

Fig. 92. An Anaguta hunting shrine—Bauchi Province

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Fig. 93 An Angas sacrificial pot

man or chief, his favourite wife, slave, horse, and boy and girl attendants were buried also ; for one who is great in this world will be great also in the next. His terrestrial social position must be fully maintained. But the good will of the dead man must also be secured ; and thus the family continues through its eldest male representative to keep in touch with the old man's spirit. A funeral feast is held some time after interment, and the old man's spirit attends this formal farewell and thanks the people for their gifts (Basa and Jaba). Thereafter his memory is kept ever fresh by periodical offerings at his grave. If these are neglected he will remind his relatives by appearing to them in dreams, and continued neglect would lead to the assumption by him of a malevolent attitude. For the dead do not divest themselves of their human attributes, nor do they cease to take an interest in mundane affairs. Indeed, their interest is so far maintained that many of them return to the earth in the bodies of their grandchildren.

*The Family Shrine.* Such are the basic notions of ancestor worship, and among those tribes in whom it is a predominant cult each compound has a family shrine where offerings of beer and grain, chickens and goats, are made at intervals. The Jukun family shrine is worth describing, for it is so jealously guarded that few Europeans have even seen the inside of the sacred enclosure, which is a feature of every Jukun house. On a little bed of earth conical pillars are erected in groups. They remind one of the *massebhoth* denounced by the prophets of Israel, and of the " Pillars of Shamelessness " which Clement of Alexandria charged the people with setting up in their houses. They are the emblems of divinity, the abode of the spirits of the deceased members of the family.

Each deceased family-head is represented by a single pillar, but lesser members of the family are not so honoured, and a single pillar may represent several of these departed spirits. Rites are performed only when the spirits have done some injury to the family. The divining apparatus is then produced, the offended spirit is identified and propitiated with offerings of beer, the worshippers chanting songs in a falsetto voice, and jingling buffalo-horns to which rings are attached. No woman may witness these rites, nor may she even approach the shrine. I was told, however, that in former times this Jukun cult was in the hands of the women, but that owing to its being abused it was taken over by the men. In origin it may have been phallic, but there is nothing now beyond the shape of the pillars to suggest that this was so.

Among those tribes who bury their dead in their houses (*e.g.* the Owe) the family shrine is immediately over the grandfather's grave, and there pots of beer are placed for the ancestral spirit to drink. Among other tribes the offerings are laid at the door of the compound where the old man used to sit. The Kamuku shrine is a little hut at the back of the compound, and in addition to the usual offerings of grain and beer, miniature bows, arrows, and axes wrought in iron, are laid for the old man's use. Among the Berom each compound has a small sacred hut attached, which is kept sealed up, and only opened when the ancestral spirit is thought to be in need of propitiatory rites.

The occasions for such rites are manifold, and often trivial. If the crops are poor or wives are sterile it is because of the ill will of some spirit who requires propitiation. An Igbira woman who trips on a stone while

carrying water will conclude that her ancestors are vexed with her, and will request the head of the family to put matters right by sacrifice. Among the Ankwe, if a young man had treated his dead father disrespectfully during his lifetime, he would be advised by his elders to make atonement by frequent offerings at his father's grave.

Sometimes there is an annual family sacrifice to ensure the goodwill of the ancestral spirits for the ensuing year. Among the Afawa and Borom, for example, each family of the tribe assembles once a year at the door of the compound and formally sacrifices a goat, the flesh being eaten ceremonially by all the male members of the household. Sacrificial rites have also to be performed when the family shifts to some new compound. On such an occasion the Kagoro, for example, slay a chicken and pour the blood and beer on the new site. Incantations are made, invoking the aid, not only of the family ancestors, but also of the spirits of any men who may be buried in the vicinity.

Among some tribes (*e.g.* the Warji) prayers are addressed both to male and female ancestors, but usually male ancestors only are addressed, and women make their requests through their husbands. The most active protecting spirit is that of the last deceased old man—generally a man's grandfather. (The great-grandfather is considered too remote, while the deceased father was on too familiar terms with his children to be a suitable object of worship.) The deceased grandfather watches over the welfare of his grandchildren, warding off countless evils and preventing quarrels among them. He does not concern himself with the fortunes of other families than his own, and would only interfere with other households (so some Jukun told me) if they first interfered with his. He signifies his presence to his family in dreams, and some

tribes (*e.g.* the Teria) say that they can tell when he is near by a peculiar smell in the room at night.[1]

The prayers addressed to the dead are generally offered through the senior male member of the family, or, as among the Berom, by a family "chaplain" who may belong to some other household, or even to some other town. Among many tribes, however (*e.g.* the Paiemawa, Rukuba, Ganawuri, etc.), prayers to be effective can only be addressed to ancestors through the religious head of the village, who goes to the family shrine and there makes the petition desired. There is a further development where we find the belief (*e.g.* among the Awok, Waja, Chum, Tula, Longuda, etc.) that the ancestral spirits congregate in a sacred pot[2] or stone at the village shrine. The priest is then the family intermediary, and petitions can only be addressed to ancestors through him. After pouring beer into the pot, or plastering the sacred stone with a mixture of grain and water, the priest can hold converse with the spirits and give answer to their devotees.

*Public Worship.* Where ancestral family spirits can only be worshipped through the intermediary village priest we see the transition from purely private to public worship, and thus we find among many tribes a corporate festival held each year in honour of the spirits of the dead —a "Feast of All Souls." Such is the *Maigiro* worship of the Kamuku, Kamberi, Dukawa, Gwari, and some other tribes. The word *Maigiro* is probably a plural form from a Bantu root meaning "ghosts," and the ghosts of the

[1] An interesting example of a psychological process. Professor Seligman tells me that among the Shilluk, Nyakang and Dag manifest themselves in dreams as a bright light.

[2] The sacred pots of the Waja and Longuda are crowned with representations of human heads, and are apparently the same as those referred to by Messrs. Smith and Murray Dale in speaking of the Baluba of Northern Rhodesia.

forefathers come out once a year, being personated by some of the senior male members of the tribes. For several nights their shrill unearthly cries can be heard, and strike terror into the women and children. The *Maigiro* bring rain, cure disease, and denounce thieves. Those who had committed crimes, and even innocent strangers, were sacrificed to the *Maigiro*.

Among the Jukun the harvest festival at Puje is a corporate thanksgiving by the entire tribe. The chief spends the previous evening at Puje (and it was during a Puje festival that he was ceremonially killed). On the morning of the feast each family arrives and takes up its abode in roughly constructed shelters, and every family-head withdraws to his sacred enclosure (or *kunguni*) to offer sacrifice to the ancestral spirits. One or two black cattle are offered by the *Kinda*, a senior minister of state, on behalf of the royal ancestors. When all have duly made their sacrifice they report to the chief, and the assembly is then dismissed to return to Wukari and engage in a seven days' festival, drinking beer brewed from the previous year's millet. The harvest may then be gathered, and new corn given to man and beast.

Among the Yoruba tribes, at the yearly feast of *Egugu*, the re-embodied spirits of the dead appear as cowled and hooded figures, and each family spirit is attended by bands of his male descendants, who dance and sing around him.

It is easy to see how the corporate body of ancestral spirits might in time become centred in a single individual —the tutelary genius of the village or tribe, commonly known as the *Dodo*. We can arrive at this conception also by another line of thought, namely, the embodiment of the spirit of the founder of the tribe.

*Skull Worship.* But before proceeding to deal with this aspect of ancestor worship reference should be made to the custom common among some tribes—viz. Mama, Vere, Mumuye—of preserving the skulls of dead forefathers, and using these as a symbol of worship. The skull is among these people more than a symbol—it is at times the actual abode of the dead ancestor himself, whose soul is conceived of as still tenanting the skull. Thus a son will fondle his father's skull, speak to it lovingly and ask its advice on all matters of importance. If the site of the village is moved the ancestral skulls are also moved to a shrine near the new village. (It is noteworthy that among some mother-right tribes, *e.g.* the Vere, the deceased man's skull passes into the care of his mother's younger brother.) As the Vere makes his prayer to the deceased ancestor he takes the old man's (or old woman's) skull and stripes it with camwood paint. A Vere will thus ask the indwelling spirit to desist from causing his wife to be barren. Among the Yungur, at the installation of a new chief, the skull of his predecessor is placed in his house. If the new chief orders its removal it is known that he will be an autocrat—the reason apparently being that he can afford to dispense with his predecessor's assistance; or, in other words, the tribe has passed beyond the stage of a belief in the divinity of its kings. It is noteworthy that it is only the heads of old people that are worshipped in this way, for among ancestor worshippers it is only the old who die a natural death, all other deaths being ascribed to witchcraft.

*The Tutelary Genius.* Side by side with village and tribal worship of ancestors we find also the worship of the *Dodo*—the embodiment, it would seem, of the spirits of the dead, and principally of the spirit of the founder of the

Fig. 94. A Zumper *Dodo*—Muri Province

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village or tribe. He is at once the social mentor and the guardian spirit. Each village has its own—the personified spirit of the first headman ; and each tribe a Supreme *Dodo*, the spirit of the founder of the tribe, who has now become a demi-god.

*Dodos* may also be embodiments of nature spirits. Real men usually play the part of the *Dodo*, though sometimes the *Dodo* is a purely mythical being. They wear masks, for they usually represent the spirits of the dead. The Galambe *Dodo* is clothed in a white cloth and a white ram's skin thrown over the head. When he appears he carries a cane and chastises evil-doers, disrespectful women, and those troubled with evil spirits. The Zumper *Dodos* wear wooden horned headpieces over bunches of fibre-string which represents the hair. Over the face and upper part of the body there is a net of fibre, and from the waist downwards a skirt of long grass. Anklets of pods are worn which clatter as the *Dodo* strides along. The *Dodo* of the Paiemawa wears a fibre mask studded with red berries ; the Zaranda mask is similar, and the body is covered with a garment of fibre. He utters peculiar unearthly cries.

He may appear annually (as among the Angas), presiding at the first gathering of the corn ; or (as among the Paiemawa) come forth when called upon to drive away disease, sleeping in the sacred grove during the night, and being given beer to drink and pieces of a slaughtered dog. He is a special object of fear to women, and through him husbands terrorize their wives. The Chamba *Dodos* appear in wooden featureless masks surmounted by horns, and having an enormous projecting mouth in the centre of the face. Others resemble the bodies of donkeys, and some a crocodile's head. They are the personified spirits

of the sons of the tribal ancestor, and they issue from their graves to terrify some disobedient wife.

Among the Zaranda, in case of an epidemic, the religious chief takes the sacred stick and goes off to the bush to consult the *Dodo*. He addresses him with reverence, and then says : " What is the meaning of this sickness ; never have I heard of such a thing in the times of our forefathers ? " The *Dodo* then in his shrill voice assures the priest that the sickness will pass, and, after partaking of offerings of beer and food, withdraws to his abode on the hill top.

Among many tribes, however, the *Dodo* is seldom seen except at the time of circumcision, when all the boys are brought before him and initiated into the tribal mysteries. The uninitiated believe that the circumcision is performed by the *Dodo* himself ; and if any boy dies during the rites his mother is told that the *Dodo* has swallowed him ! The village *Dodos* are subordinate to the tribal *Dodo*, whose festival is observed at fixed intervals, and is approached when the local *Dodos* fail. Thus, among the Zul, Mirzule is the tutelary genius of the tribe, and every four years he summons the village *Dodos* to his festival. Or again, among the Borom, in time of drought, if the village *Dodo* has failed to produce rain, recourse would be had to the more powerful genius of the tribe Suak, who would issue instructions to the subordinate genii.

Occasionally we find also female genii. Thus Tadunia, among the Warji, is the wife of the tribal genius Girbigingi. She wears a costume of leaves around her loins, strings of cowries round her breasts and arms, and over her face a mask. She appears with her husband at the annual festival, and young women anoint her back with oil, believing that this will bring them fertility. She does not

Fig. 95. The Warji fetish—Bauchi Province

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Fig. 96. Sacred symbols of the Seiyawa —Bauchi Province

Fig. 97. Sacred symbols of the Paiemawa —Bauchi Province

utter any cry like her husband, but is always dumb. At other times also she can be approached by her devotees, but only through the mediumship of the custodian priest.

Some tribes have only recently adopted *Dodo* worship, and among these the cult is degenerate, and is merely a secret society with the avowed object of terrorizing women. The Kagoma are such, and admission to the society is reserved for married men. The cry of the *Dodo* is made by blowing through a tube, over the end of which is fixed a piece of spider's web. The bullroarer is also used for this purpose. The novices are soundly flogged, and their shrieks strike terror into the women and children of the village. Each youth is then asked if he has seen the *Dodo*, and, before he can reply, a member of the cult blows on the tube and says, "I myself am the *Dodo*." Then, handing the young man the tube, he says, "And henceforth you yourself are the *Dodo* too." But none may use his tube unless he has the special permission of the head of the cult, for a too-free use of the instrument might arouse suspicion among the uninitiated. Any one who finds his wife's conduct unsatisfactory can call on the head of the cult, who, tricked out in his weird costume, will come at night and address words of warning to the terrified wife. Generally speaking, we may say that all those tribes who have the *Dodo* cult frankly admit that the intimidation of women is a main object of the rites.

*Fetishism.* The *Dodo* is a physical representation of the spiritual. This brings us to the subject of Fetishism, which is so characteristic of West African culture. By fetish we shall understand the worship of some material object in which a spirit is thought to have taken up its settled abode for the time being. A fetish is thus to be distinguished from the magical and protective ornaments,

such as the amulets and talismans, with which every West African native adorns his house and person. The tribal fetish is some sacred symbol which has been handed down from ancient times, and with it is closely associated the ancestral spirit or the tribal genius. The fetish is kept in a sacred shrine, and the tribal priest is its custodian. Before it all public worship is carried out, to it prayers are addressed, and by it every conceivable blessing may be obtained and misfortune warded off.

The fetish object is generally something strange to the tribe. Among the Warji it is a piece of metal resembling a throwing-iron made by some process of casting which was foreign to the tribe. Another tribe, the Paiemawa, who do not use throwing-sticks as weapons, have a highly decorated throwing-stick as their tribal fetish. The Keri-Keri reverence an iron spear which is said to have fallen from heaven. Or the fetish may be a sacred sword, as among the people of Kusheriki ; or a sacred knife worn on the arm, as among those of Kwongoma ; or a large iron hook, as among the Kilba. The Jarawa have a sacred shield, and the Rebinawa a sacred horn. The sacred objects of the Bachama are a horse's bit, a miniature iron rectangular shield, and a miniature spear, iron bow, and arrow. The weapon cult, it may be noted, was a characteristic feature of Egyptian civilization. Oaths are sworn on the public fetishes, and their worth has been proved times without number, for those who have foresworn themselves have died untimely deaths.[1]

These are but a few examples of public fetishes handed down from many generations or recently obtained. The Warji told me that any man could make a fetish for him-

[1] Compare among Muslims the death-dealing properties ascribed to the Koran, vol. i. p. 269.

self, and the ritual for doing this was as follows: he takes the object which has struck his fancy to the village priest. A goat is slain, and the blood and beer are poured over the object, which then becomes charged with spiritual power. A feast is held, and the sacred symbol is carried home to become the powerful protector of its owner's house. I have known of carved images being bought by a Berom, charged in this way with *magani*, and used to terrorize and blackmail his neighbours in the town.

Among all tribes Neolithic implements are regarded as charged with spiritual power; and among those tribes who preserve the skulls of their forefathers the skull is the residence of the ancestral spirit. It is easy to see how such material objects may become worshipped for themselves, the presence of an indwelling spirit being only hazily recognized.

*Naturism and Polydaemonism.* Deity is immanent also in natural objects and phenomena. The Kamberi, Basa, Kona, Kamuku, Gwari, and many other tribes reverence certain hills. Among the Makangara Kamuku the hill resembles the body of a young woman, and so is thought to contain her soul. Among the Paiko Gwari the sacred hill enshrines the spirit of the ancestral chief, who is regarded as being still present with his people. The headman of Paiko may not therefore assume the royal title, nor may the royal drum be used; for to do this would be to impugn the hill chief's sovereignty. Among the Ankwe also the spirit of the tribal chief is associated with a sacred hill. Among the Waja the spirits of the people on their death take up their abode on the sacred hill of Yamadul, and farmers as they pass the hill will throw pieces of food as offerings. The Malabu have a

sacred spring which is the residence of the spirit of Giddi, a malignant deity ; and it may be that the snake of the Daura legend was the abode of some water-spirit. The Berom also worship a river-spirit, Ching. The Kede pray to departed human spirits in the rivers. The devotees will enter the water and, gazing into it, offer prayer to the spirits, whom they conceive to be like men, and to have the control of everything under the water.

Ant-heaps are reverenced by many tribes (*e.g.* the Kengawa and Keri-Keri), for spirits dwell within them. Most tribes have sacred trees. The Yungur address prayers to the *Ficus Thonningii,* and this tree is sacred also to the Angas, Berom, Ganawuri, and many other tribes. The Kengawa, Bata, and Bachama reverence the baobab and cut symbols on the bark. The hill Jarawa worship the *Itili* tree, and every two years the villagers assemble beneath its branches and yodel to the indwelling spirits.

Again, each crop has its own soul, and the Jukun place wooden figures in the fields to prevent any one from stealing the soul of the grain by exclaiming " What a beautiful crop ! " [1] The Baushi at sowing-time offer sacrifice beneath the *Loko* tree (*Chlorophora excelsa*), round which they bind a strip of native cloth. Some Igbira do the same at harvest, discharging arrows at the cloth, for reasons that I was not able to ascertain.

With the worship of natural objects may also be classed that of sacred tribal animals, which are regarded as embodying the spirits of forefathers ; and here we have a form of kinship between naturism and ancestor worship. Many of the nature spirits, moreover, are simply magnified ancestors. The Bachama, for example, worship many

[1] Compare Pliny, *Hist. nat. rerum,* vii. 2.

nature spirits, and some who were heroes or great magicians in the past.

Lastly, many tribes are given to the worship of the Sun. They are notably the Kamuku, Berom, Galambe, Ganawuri, Mumbake, Vere, Tera, Seiyawa, Kagoma, and Jarawa.[1] (Some Gwari also swear by the Sun.) The Sun is their Supreme Deity, the All Father, the Giver of Rain, the Ripener of Crops, but so remote and otiose that he can only be approached through the host of intermediaries already described—the spirits of ancestors who dwell near him, and those nature spirits who are demigods and his servants. He is too far removed to need the propitiation of sacrifice ; but in times of stress his devotees vaguely hold out their hands to him in prayer. The Sun-worshippers seem to regard the Sun primarily as the Ripener of Crops.

In addition to the personification of the powers of nature we even find also the personification of abstract ideas. Thus, among the Waja, Hunger is conceived to be an evil spirit. She can be seen and heard mewing as a cat. When seen, she is driven out of the town, small cakes of red flour being made, and placed on pieces of broken calabashes. The leader in the assault then raises a chant, and every man, woman, and child, armed with his little dish of corn, starts beating each house with a stick ; and so they drive out Hunger to the next village, whose people have then to carry out similar rites. If this ritual were not observed all the nourishment would depart from the grain in the granaries.

There are countless other minor, non-human daemons in

[1] The existence of Sun-worship side by side with ancestrolatry has been noted among Bantu-speaking tribes of East Africa such as the Wasu and Wamramba (see *Journal of the African Society*, Jan. 1922, p. 159).

every tribe. They have the power of injuring men, but many of them are good. Such are the *Zigwal* of the Angas. They may lurk in the road at night as white figures, and, by touching travellers, cause them to fall sick or die. And so before building a new house the Angas will always be careful to propitiate the *Zigwal* of the place ; and an Idoma and members of many other tribes, before using anything new, will first propitiate the indwelling spirit. Food and drink are constantly placed outside villages to keep evil genii from entering the town. Among most of the tribes infertile women believe that their barrenness is due to some evil spirit. Among the Yungur (Lala) such women will make a little image resembling a child and take it to the priest. The priest places the image beside a bowl of water in which beniseed is set. The evil spirit immediately comes forth, and the priest, with a miniature bow and arrow, shoots the shadow of the spirit as it is cast on the water. A squeak is heard, and the water becomes tinged with the spirit's blood. The woman then goes home and makes a new image, which she keeps close to her side, until a child is born to her.

With the multiplication of nature spirits we are on the high road to polytheism.

*Polytheism.* We have seen that many tribes preserve as objects of worship the heads of their forefathers, and that among some tribes the ancestral spirits take up their abode in pots surmounted with representations of human heads. On the same principle images are taken to represent dead chiefs, whose worship by the tribe is the natural corollary of ancestrolatry. Thus, among the Yoruba, effigies of the dead chief are made in wood and clay and become an object of worship to his people.

Fig. 98. Ankwe household deity—Muri Province

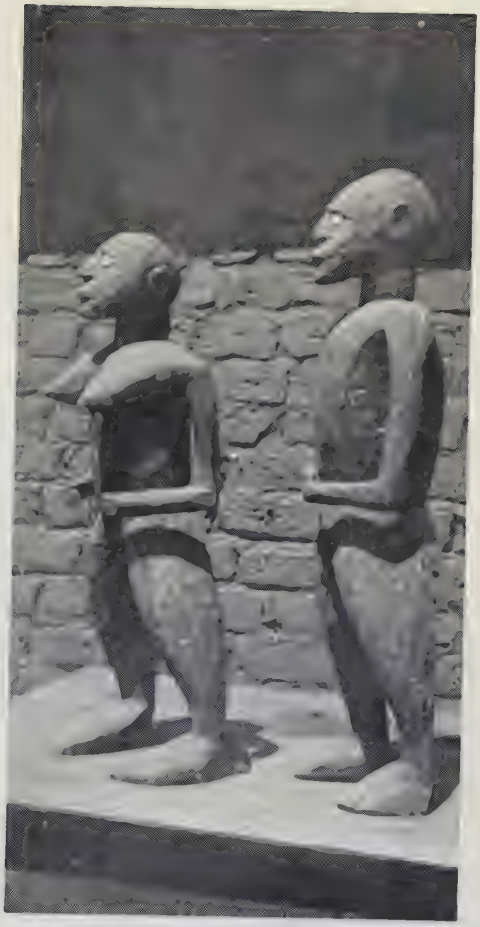

Fig. 99. Yergum gods—Bauchi Province

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Among the Angas also a wooden image of the departed chief is made and placed in the shrine, and a special hymn is sung by the people before this sacred symbol.

The Pindiga Jukun worship two wooden idols, Yinkuni and Sankar, the ancestral founders of the tribe. Suppliants pour out to them their offerings of beer and the blood of pullets, and once a year the images are taken from their shrine to the house of the tribal chief, and there a dog is sacrificed.[1] On approaching these gods all must uncover the upper part of their bodies. The Jukun also fashion miniature images of their great god Achidong, who controls the thunder and has charge of the souls of the dead. The Ankwe worship images of their god Mat-Kerren, the Montoil of Bom ; the Mumuye have effigies of their deities, and the Idoma, Agatu, Arago, Igbira, Kakanda, Lala, and Yergum are all worshippers of gods represented by idols. Among the Yergum each compound has a family shrine where two earthenware figures, male and female, are kept. The same tribe also worships two wooden figures, male and female, the features of which are of a Hamitic, or at least a non-Negro, type. Prayers are addressed to these idols, the blood of the sacrifice is poured over them, and feathers are stuck on the head as a reminder to the indwelling spirits that the required rites have been performed. They are fertility gods ; for although no woman may take part in their worship the object of the cult is the prevention of sterility. The Munshi have countless images, and the Chamba make images of their dead fathers and mothers. As soon as they have been fashioned they are taken to the sacred

[1] The sacrifice of dogs is common among the following tribes : Jukun, Yoruba, Basa, Waja, Idoma, pagan Nupe, Paiemawa, Kagoro, Ataka, and Gwari.

grove and placed beside the skull of the deceased relative. In this way they become charged with the deceased's spirit, and they are taken back to the house, where they are carefully concealed and given constant offerings of food and drink. The Arago have sacred images representing antelopes and buffaloes.

The distribution of idols is noteworthy from the ethnological point of view. It is found, we have seen, in the Benue area and among the Yoruba. With it are associated the extensive use of masks, human sacrifice, and the polytheistic ideas which reach their highest development among the Yoruba peoples. We have already found the elements of polytheism in the fetishism and worship of nature spirits. *Dodos* and fetishes become associated with special departments. Thus among the Seiyawa there are two divinities, Kadang and Aiyang—the latter associated with agriculture and the former with the cure of disease. Hwiza, a god of the Yungur, confines himself to the punishment of thieves. Among the Berom there are numerous sacred groves near every town, each connected with some particular cult and under the charge of some special custodian. There is the cult of the god of rain, of childbirth, and so on. And thus we get the departmental gods, who are conceived of as presided over by some supreme but distant deity. Achidong is the Supreme God of the Jukun, and under him are Achu the God of Lightning, and various other deities who are classed under the generic title of Ajong.

The elaborate theological system of the Yoruba has been described in *Les Missions Catholiques* (1884), xvi., and we need only make a few remarks here on the subject. The presiding god is Olorun, the remote Sky God, the Zeus of the Yoruba pantheon. Olorun created Obatala

or Oshala,[1] who fashions human children in the mother's womb, and is wedded to Odudua. Of them were born Aganju, lord of the soil, and Yemaja, the goddess of water. Aganju married his sister Yemaja, and they begat Orungan, god of the upper air. Orungan ravished his mother, and from this incestuous union fifteen gods were born at a single birth, among whom were Dada god of vegetation, Shango lord of lightning, Ogun the god of iron-workers and of war, Orisha Oko the god of agriculture, Oshosi the god of hunting, Shankpana god of small-pox, the sun god Orun, and Oshu the moon. In giving birth to these Yemaja's body burst, and where she fell the sacred town of Ife arose. And thus it is that every Yoruba-speaking tribe to-day endeavours to trace its descent from the holy town of Ife.

We see therefore that the Yoruba gods, with their wives and children, bear a thoroughly anthropomorphic character. The subject of the Yoruba religion more properly belongs to the Southern Provinces, and we need not deal with it further here.

*The Supreme Being.* All the tribes, however devoted to naturism and fetishism, are sufficiently theistic to believe in the existence of a Supreme Ruler of the world, but they frankly admit that they know little or nothing of his attributes. It is difficult therefore to say how far their belief is intuitive, or how far it is based on their animistic ideas. With many tribes the Supreme Being is conceived of as a sky-dwelling God, too remote to be approached directly by men, but with whom the ancestral spirits, for all their attachment to the earth, are yet in some way associated.

Achidong, the Supreme God of the Jukun, has charge

[1] Possibly the Oshalu of the Shilluk.

of the souls of the dead. But he is not, it seems, himself a glorified ghost; and he does not therefore appear to be the outcome of ancestor worship. On the other hand, among the Bachama, Pwa is the lord of the sky, and he is also the tribal ancestor; so that seemingly here we have a definite connection between the idea of the Sky God and the animistic worship of ancestors. Among other tribes, again, he is associated with, if he is not actually the personification of, the most powerful force of nature—the Sun. He can be approached through the tutelary genius, and in some cases (as among the Berom) prayers are offered to him directly, suppliants holding up the palms of their hands to the Sun. Nyama is also among the Mumbake identified with the Sun. Under the name of Nan, Nen, or Nyan, he is the Supreme God of the Angas, Yergum, Pe, Montoil, Sura, and Mumbake, and is also, I believe, as Yamba, recognized as the sky-dwelling God by the Kamu, Awok, Bolewa, Tangale, Waja, and by a great many non-Nigerian Bantoid tribes. Nyambe is, in fact, the high God of the western Bantu.[1] Festivals are held in honour of Nan, and every year, among the Yergum, the chief descends to the ancestral tomb, and, taking up the skulls of his forefathers, calls on each in turn to intercede with Nan that the great God, the Giver of Rain and Ripener of Crops, may grant an abundant harvest.

That Nan is regarded as the Supreme Ruler of the world is shown by the willingness of the Angas to apply to him, and him only, the Muslim title of Allah. Under Nan are various departmental gods—Kim the god of war, Gwon or Bom, the god of justice and fertility, and a host of minor divinities. The Sky God is regarded as the sole agent in

[1] In Ashanti also he appears as Nyame.

creation. Thus, among the Munshi, Awondo, the Sky God created the world and has power over all natural phenomena. He is the author of good and evil. Subordinate to him is Poro, the chief object of Munshi worship. The Moon is Poro's daughter and the Sun his son. There are, besides, various minor deities—gods of childbirth, hunting, thunder, and agriculture. Olorun is the Sky God of the Yoruba. We thus see that the idea of the Supreme Being is general, and among the more primitive ancestor worshippers he is the Father and Keeper of the souls of the dead, and sometimes himself the deified spirit of the founder of the tribe; that among the naturistic tribes he is the Sky God and is commonly identified with the Sun; and that at the polytheistic stage he is the Zeus Keraunos, the ancestor of the Universe and Author of the Pantheon. He is, indeed, a material being, but with him are vaguely associated various ethical ideas. He seeks the welfare of the dead, and defeats the schemes of the evil; he separates at death the just and the unjust, and is among some people (the Jukun, for example) himself the God of Justice. Evil happenings are not associated with him, for they can easily be otherwise explained. But among the advanced polytheists he is a non-moral otiose being who concerns himself little with the doings of mankind.

*Cosmological Beliefs.* The Kagoro believe that the sun is a ball of fire which falls into the water at evening and so has its light put out. But by night it makes its way back to the east again, and is there, by the Supreme Being, given fresh fire. The Angas believe that hosts of spirits support the sky on bamboo-poles. And the Sun is stronger than the Moon, because vision by day is greater than it is by night. The Sun, moreover, appears every

day, but the moon only at intervals. The Sun drives away the Moon in the morning. The Sun is good and the Moon is evil.

The Jukun believe that there are seven suns which travel westward and there rest ; and that there are twelve moons which go away for periods to renew their youth. The Moon travels by day and night, and if there is an eclipse it is because a sun has caught a moon ; and so drums are beaten for the Sun to let the Moon go free.

The idea that an eclipse is a conflict between the Sun and Moon is general, and some Berom told me that at last year's eclipse of the Sun they thought the Sun was going to swallow up the earth. Eclipses are also thought to portend exceptional events, such as the death of some great chief. The Mumbake think that it portends the birth of an elephant. Thunderstorms among the Bachama are said to be due to an evil spirit called Ngberrum, who snatches from the high god a calabash of water. The clatter of the thunder is the footsteps of Ngberrum as he is pursued by the high god across the clouds. The origin of flies and mosquitoes is given by the Bachama in a story resembling that of Pandora's box. The god Ndseandsu handed to Ngberrum the pod of a silk-cotton tree and told him to keep it until his return, but not to open it. Ngberrum, overcome by curiosity, opened the pod, and out flew hosts of flies and mosquitoes, to become a curse to men.[1]

*Conception of the Soul and the Future Life.* The Nigerian native's ideas of the human personality are in a somewhat fluid condition. When he goes to sleep his soul can leave the body ; it may spend the night as a hyena stealing goats, or it may go off on a visit to some distant country.

[1] I am indebted to Dr. Bronnum for this information.

Dreams are, by some, held to be what happens to the disembodied spirit, and the Angas believe that a will-o'-the-wisp is such a spirit on the quest for food. Disembodied spirits may be seen at night as lights moving swiftly here and there with a hissing noise. Beetles that come to lights in the evening are always pursued and killed by the Angas, for they are believed to be the spirits of evil men seeking to kill their enemies. The Kagoro priest can detect these evil souls of living men by their fiery glow. He can shut them up in a room until the victims come to identify their living tormentors. The owners of the evil souls are then forced to promise to give up working mischief in the night, and, if they fail to keep their word, they may be sold as slaves or put to death. It is dangerous therefore to rouse a sleeping man, for if his wandering soul has not returned he will feel sick without it, and may even die.

Again, we saw, in dealing with Lycanthropy, that the idea of a double soul is common. It resides in a bush animal, and if that animal is killed the man dies ; or if the man dies first his animal counterpart will lose its senses and become an easy prey to a hunter or some other animal. Among the Berom each man has a double which resides in a spider, and if he falls sick his double has been entrapped by some displeased or greedy ancestor. The assistance of the priest is sought, recourse is had to the ancestral grave, and the old man's spirit is appeased by the gift of a goat-skin (on the presumption that he was vexed at the parsimony shown by his relatives when he was first consigned to the grave). A search is then made for the spider, and, when found, it is taken away by the priest, and the patient soon recovers. Or the sick man's soul may have been sold by some evil-minded person to

Ching, the spirit of the river. A white chicken is therefore sacrificed to Ching, and the priest then digs for the spider in the river-bank. When found the insect is placed on the sick man's forehead, and the priest says, "Friend, I have saved you." If the invalid recovers he gives the priest a gift.[1]

An Angas will charge a hunter with attempted murder for having shot at his animal counterpart, and warn him that, if he repeats the offence, he will, through his counterpart, work some injury to the hunter or his cattle. Mr. Wedgwood, at Kabwir, has heard it said of Angas boys who were suffering from acne that their doubles were monkeys who had been eating too much unripe corn. Again, a man's shadow is his soul. The Mumuye told me that they reverenced monitors because these animals contained the shadows of their children. "A dead body casts no shadow," says the Angas. Among the Tangale fits are ascribed to witches who seize a man's shadow. Among many tribes (*e.g.* the Berom) the child's after-birth is treated with great respect and formally buried in a pot, as it is believed to be the child's double.

Further, a man's personality can be altered by the intrusion of some foreign spirit. This is the basis of *bori*,[2] which is commonly practised by the Hausa peoples. It is a self-induced hypnotic state, frequently resulting in phenomena resembling hystero-epilepsy. We find the same phenomena in the shamanism of the Jukun priestesses, who are believed to be endowed with second sight, and in their frenzied state utter warnings and oracles. But some people are born with special spiritual powers—or *magani* as it is termed in Hausa. It is this that enables

[1] This Berom information was kindly given me by Mr. T. L. Suffill, of the Sudan United Mission at Forum.

[2] See vol. i. p. 298.

an Angas to turn into an animal at will, to pass through walls, to be immune to the thrust of a knife (the knife will break or its edge will wear away), and to become invisible to his foes. Such beliefs are general, and I have known a British officer who was considered by his men to be bullet-proof. The Berom say that they have men who, when cut to pieces in war, could come together again ; who, when pursued by the enemy, could draw the banks of a river together and pass over in safety ; and who, if they do not desire children, can pass on their power of producing children to some animal of the bush.

The Jukun say that a man's personality consists of body, soul, shadow, and revenant, but the three latter ideas are not very clearly defined and tend to pass into each other. The Yoruba have a similar conception of a multiple soul. Such are the general ideas connected with the living personality. But what happens when a man dies ?

At death, according to the Angas, the great god Nan receives the souls of all good men. But a bad man's soul becomes a *kapwan*, and stays near his old home to pursue his evil ways, throwing stones at passers-by, stealing children from their mother's satchel, appearing as a white baby to shepherd boys, and carrying off their sheep, or infecting people with disease so that they too may speedily become *kapwan*. Some people can see these spirits and can beat them off with whips, sending them away squeaking like mice. Dogs, too, can see them and drive them away.

These conceptions of the Angas are interesting, for they show retributive ideas which we do not usually find associated with ancestor-worship. We find similar ideas among the Yergum ; and among the Dukawa the spirits

of the wicked are thought to live in isolation for two years, and to be deprived of food and shelter. They can be seen at night with fire issuing from their armpits. But the spirits of the good are met at death by their relatives and friends, and given clothes and food and beer in abundance. The Kamberi have kindred beliefs.

By ancestor-worshippers the dead man's spirit is thought to hover near the grave until such time as he is formally dismissed. He takes a special interest in the funeral rites, and will even, as among the Basa, return in a few days to express his satisfaction with all that has been done. The dead man's spirit then goes off to the other world, but he may visit his family on earth. The Kagoro believe there is a stream dividing Life from Death, and that when a man falls sick his soul leaves his body and journeys to this stream. There the spirits of the dead, assembled on the further shore, decide whether he may cross the bridge. If permitted to do so he is greeted by his parents and friends, and thus leaves the world. But as a ghost he is never far away, for he lives on the hills and haunts the sacred groves. His appearance is the same as during life, and he hunts and fights as of old. But he has no house, and is always hungry and thirsty, and so must be supplied with food and drink ; neglect would be followed by punishments. The old men consult them constantly, and spend three days yearly with them at the sacred grove. Again, the souls of the dead are often thought to take up their abode in a living animal, and to this theory of metempsychosis may perhaps be attributed the origin of some totemic ideas.

The Jukun, Mumbake, and Kona believe that each star represents a man's soul, and that the fall of a meteor signalizes some one's death. The Irigwe, Ba, Sangawa,

Pakara, and many of the Plateau tribes believe that the spirits of the dead hover near their homes in the branches of trees, watching for a chance to pass into the womb of a woman and so be born again. The Mumuye also share this belief, and think that the soul chooses to be born again as the child of his best friend. The belief in re-incarnation is widely distributed. It is found among the Jukun, Jaba, Jarawa, Kagoro, Kagoma, Kugama, Gwari, Yergum, Chamba, Kaje, Tal, Bachama, Piri, Berom, Angas, Igara, Okpoto, Wurkum, and many other tribes.

Yoruba, Hausa, Nupe, Gwari, and various other peoples believe that resemblance to dead relatives is to be ascribed to the re-incarnation of those relatives ; and among the Igara and Okpoto posthumous children are regarded as the re-incarnation of their dead father.

The Kagoro believe that the souls of animals may be born into the children of the hunter who slays them, and the Kagoma and Mumbake that departed spirits can return to earth as shooting stars, and so enter on a fresh term of human existence. The Kona also believe that souls can return as meteorites, and that stones found inside animals contain the souls of men. Those tribes who practise king-killing probably also believe in re-incarnation ; for the conception appears to have been that, by killing the king before feebleness overtook him, his soul passed into his successor unimpaired. Re-incarnation ideas are the basis of the belief in the hereditary powers of priests, and also, no doubt, of the common idea that it is disgraceful to abandon the profession followed by one's forefathers.

The Kusopachi Nupe are said to believe that every man has four existences, of which this is the second. In

each new life the bodies of men get smaller, until at the last they are dwarf-like beings. Thereafter a state resembling the Buddhist Nirvana is reached. Evil men never attain the later stages, for they become bush beasts.

The Bachama, like the Angas, believe that the souls of evil men are driven out by the good spirits from Hades, and so forced to return to earth as evil spirits. They may be born again. Young children that cry excessively are such hungry spirits returned to earth. When parents recognize this, they give the child the dead man's name (and also some honey and salt) and he no longer cries; nor will he grow up an evil person as he was in his former life, for the thought of the fire which scorched him in the under-world prevents him from again working mischief. Hausa Muslims believe that precocious children are re-incarnated spirits, and they also explain physical resemblances to forefathers in this way. The Jarawa believe that the good are born into their own, and the bad into a foreign community. Among the Mbarikwe (Zumper) birth-marks are regarded as evidence of a former existence.

It is rather surprising to find these ideas of re-incarnation flourishing among peoples who worship their dead ancestors, since it would not be consistent with our logic to continue to worship a dead father whom one also believes to have been re-incarnated in one's son. It may, indeed, be that these re-incarnation concepts are of later origin, and have been adopted as a reasonable explanation of family likenesses, from peoples who had progressed beyond the stage of ancestor-worship. But among some tribes (*e.g.* the Jukun and Yoruba) the multiple character of the soul would explain the difficulty. It is the material soul which goes to join the ancestral spirits, but the revenant has a quasi-material character which is able to perpetuate

physical resemblance. Nor are the two elements always immediately dissociated after death. In Nigeria it would appear that re-incarnation ideas were introduced as part of the Jukun-Yoruba culture complex.

*Human Sacrifice.* Human sacrifice is another feature of Jukun-Yoruba culture. It is not characteristic of ancestor-worship, though I have known of three cases within the last few years of human victims being offered to the ancestral spirits of the town. In two of these cases the victims were strangers who were seized and sacrificed, and in the third case the victim was one who had given offence to the community by betraying the town to slave-raiders some twenty years ago. This man was tied up, given beer for a few days, and then taken to the ancestral shrine, where he was secretly stabbed, his cries being thought by the assembled townspeople to be the cries of the ancestral spirits as they bore their victim off. In the first two cases it would appear that the victims were slain with the idea of satiating offended forefathers, and in the last there was probably also the double conception of punishment and expiation. These penal and expiatory ideas appear among some cannibal tribes (*e.g.* the Angas, Sura, and Warjawa), where certain criminals were killed and eaten by the chief and people.

It may be that the custom of king-killing was an expiatory sacrifice on behalf of the whole community, and this idea of vicarious sacrifice seems to appear also among the tribes who kill twin children on the ground that their continuance in the world would endanger the life of the father and mother. The Rukuba of Rishini used, with the same intention, to sacrifice a victim to the ancestral spirits every seven years. A strong young man was forcibly caught and deposited in the sacred shrine. He

was given two calabashes, one for drink and one for food. Every week a goat was brought to him, which he slaughtered and ate. He allowed his hair to grow long. His person was *tabu*, and any one who touched him or his belongings would automatically die. If he left his hut and came to the village all would run away. If he died he was replaced by another young man, but if he lived he was ceremonially killed with arrows at the end of seven years.

Among the Jukun, Igbira, Igara, Idoma, Chamba, Arago, Ankwe, and the various Yoruba tribes, when a chief dies, his favourite wife and slaves were buried with him, to minister to his wants in the future world. So also the gods required to be constantly supplied with attendants, and the immolation of slaves was a regular feature of the life of these peoples. The victim was especially chosen for his strength and beauty, and during the interval before the sacrifice he was the most privileged man in the community. Nothing was denied him. He was given the finest clothes and food, and could have sexual relations with any woman in the town. He was the bearer of countless private messages to the spirits of the dead. Among the Yoruba the social lust for human blood reached its highest point, and the Igbede priest of Owa told me that he had sacrificed as many as ten human victims on a single day.

The occasions that called for human sacrifice were countless. When a great man died his slaves were sacrificed wholesale, the severed heads of the victims being held over the fetish until they were drained of blood. Among the Yoruba the god Olori-Merin demanded a newborn child each year. Any one rendered unconscious by lightning was immediately despatched by the priest of

Shango, for Shango, the god of Lightning, had thus signified his need of him. If the village contemplated war, human sacrifices had to be made to Ogun that the war might end successfully. The victim's head was severed on the stool of the god, the entrails were exposed before the image, and the body was suspended from a tree. The corpse was treated with veneration ; for, though only a slave, he would be born again as a king. A man and a woman were sacrificed at the coronation of the Alafin of Oyo, who was required to walk over the grave of the victims. On the Alafin's death human sacrifice was also offered.[1]

Among the Igbira, virgins were commonly sacrificed to an image representing a maiden holding in her lap a bird seated on a nest. The Koro also offered human sacrifice; and among most of the tribes who practised trial by ordeal the life of the guilty party was taken in expiation of his crime.

*Priesthood.* In the family private worship there is no organized priesthood, but many of the ideas connected with priesthood take their origin from the family cult. Thus the head of the family performs the religious offices. He decides when sacrifices shall be made to the ancestral spirits ; and if the family has its own tutelary genius (as among the Borom) he is its custodian, and the "acolytes" are the small boys of the family. When the head of the family dies the guardianship of the genius is taken over by his brother until his own son is sufficiently grown up. Further, among many pagan tribes special powers become associated with particular families. Thus among the Waja one family of the village may be noted for its ability to control the weather, another to control locusts, another rats, and so on. The family particularly honoured by the community is that with which are lodged the secrets of a

[1] See Johnson's *History of the Yorubas*, p. 45.

good harvest, and none may proceed to reap his crop until the head of that family gives the word. Here we have the elements of the hereditary departmental hierarchies such as we find in the elaborate polytheistic system of the Yoruba.

In time a tendency shows itself towards centralization of the priestly functions. Thus among the Berom we find that the charge of the family cult has passed out of the hands of the family to some other household, and when the family wishes religious rites to be performed it may even have to summon its priest from some neighbouring village. Again, the special importance of the crop would tend towards the centralization of the priestly functions in the hands of that particular family which had special agricultural *magani*. And so we reach the stage where among many tribes (already noted, page 16) the family ancestral spirits can only be approached through the recognized religious chief of the whole town. Each village has its " Sarkin Tsafi," who is, among the majority of the more primitive tribes, the most influential man in the village. He is indeed frequently the political chief as well as priest, and this fact has often been deliberately obscured by villages and tribes in their relations with Government. For owing to the sacred character of the chief he has to be protected from noxious outside influences, and bogus chiefs are therefore commonly put forward as substitutes. Among the more advanced tribes, however, there are independent political chiefs in each village, and the Sarkin Tsafi's authority is, nominally at any rate, confined to the religious sphere.

The full status of the priest is attained when his office has become hereditary. The *magani* or spiritual power is handed on from father to son, and this fact has had a

Fig. 100. A priest of the Hill Angas —Bauchi Province

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great deal, no doubt, to do with the origin of hereditary as opposed to elective political chieftainship. If a priest is notoriously unsuccessful he may be deposed, but even in such an extreme case the office does not pass out of the family but is given to some suitable relative, generally the eldest son. The priest has charge of the sacred emblems ; and so closely are the genius and the spirit of the fetish associated with him that they are regarded as almost immanent in his person. He is the repository of the tribal traditions, and therefore presides at initiation ceremonies. He receives and makes offerings on behalf of the people, and the major part of these he consumes himself, or with the assistance of his family. He carries on dialogues with the gods, and delivers their messages to the people. By virtue of his intercourse with the spirits he obtains an esoteric knowledge of powers by which he can drive out wicked spirits. He has various privileges, such as the right to the heads or skins of certain animals. He ordains when the village festival shall be held, and none may sow or harvest his crops until he gives the word. He is also often the supreme judicial authority, and, in company with the elders, assesses damages, receives fees, and imposes fines. There are no restrictions on the marriage of priests, but in some cases (as among the Jukun) the wives of priests may not do any manual work. Priests generally allow their hair to grow long, but some Yoruba priests (*e.g.* those of Ogun) shave the crown of the head. Occasionally the priest exhibits phenomena of possession.

Among most tribes the priest lives apart from his wives during religious festivals. Among the Vere his wives may not approach him, and the food they cook for him is brought by some male attendant. On such occasions also he abstains from washing and shaving (Vere), or he

may wash and shave specially for the occasion (Bata). Special robes are worn for sacrifice. Thus the Lala priest wears a white gown. The Bata priest wears a pair of baggy trousers and a piece of cloth tied round his waist, but the upper part of the body is naked. The Bata priestess wears a skirt of strips of cotton-cloth thrown over the shoulder, leaving the right breast exposed.

Such is the ordinary village Sarkin Tsafi. He is obviously a man of extensive power ; he can threaten with the displeasure of the spirits any one who does not act as he pleases ; he presides at the election of chiefs, and can manipulate the proceedings to his own satisfaction. Among the Waja a chief may not enter a priest's house with shoes on his feet ; and, as he has control over the spirits of the people, he can thrash the spirits of any one who offends him, and so bring about his death.

Where the tribe has a central, in addition to the local cult, we advance a step further in the development of a sacerdotal caste. The priest of the central cult of the Borom, for example, is head of the hierarchy and issues his instructions to the local subordinates. At the polytheistic stage each god has a hierarchy of his own, and sacerdotalism reaches its highest development.

With the Jukun-Yoruba culture came in the worship of the divine king, and the chiefs of these and the associated tribes (including apparently the ancient Hausa states) were the spiritual as well as the secular rulers of the tribe. They exercised priestly functions and offered sacrifice.[1] A feature of this culture also is the position given

[1] The person of the chief was considered divine, and with a view to preserving his life a black bull was commonly sacrificed each year (Busawa, Baushi, etc.). The Lala worship Daura with the sacrifice of a black bull, and among Nilotic Nubas bulls were sacred animals and sacrificed on the death of their owners. A bull is, among the Waja and many other Nigerian tribes, sacrificed on the death of a chief.

to women in the hierarchy, for there are priestesses still among the Jukun, Yoruba, Busawa, Longuda, Bachama, and Mbula. It is worth noting here that old women looked after the shrines of Nyakang, the god of the Shilluk.

The Bachama priestess of Fare is said to be regarded as the human wife of the great god Ndseandsu. She keeps herself free from the society of men, and is always a woman past the age of child-bearing (as the Bachama, like the Jukun, have a horror of a menstruating woman entering a sacred place). She has a dervish appearance. Her hair is long and falls over her shoulders, and she anoints it with manatee oil. Her duties seem to be meagre—to guard the sacred symbols and to keep them clean, and each year to carry from Fare to the tribal chief at Lamurde a new calabash darkened with black clay. The Bachama chief of the Boso cult is a priestess, and is chosen from Kona, a town of Jukun origin. Among the Jukun themselves the priestess of one of the central ancestral (*Yaku*) cults is a woman of shamanistic character, who utters oracles in her frenzied state.

*Agricultural Rites.* When land is cleared an offering is made to the spirit dwelling in the soil. Thus the Kagoro farmer pours out beer and prays that the land may bring forth abundantly ; the Kagoma sacrifices a chicken, pouring out the blood upon the soil. Among the Ayere, Ogudu, and Owe, immediately before the guinea-corn is sown, no one may leave his hut from sunset until sunrise on the third day ; for during this time the headmen and priests go to the sacred grove and engage in sacrificial rites. The Gwari also observe religious rites at sowing, the tutelary genius being called forth, clad in his kilt of grass and his body smeared with clay. The festival (*Gunu*) lasts seven days, and during this time all sexual relations are forbidden.

Among the Wukari Jukun the first seeds are planted by a woman—*Ashumotsi*—the favourite wife of the deceased chief. Among the Chamba, Zumper, Gurkawa, and various other tribes, at the beginning of the rains, each farmer goes to the shrine of the great god Bussom, taking with him a handful of the seed he is going to sow. A goat is sacrificed by the priest, and the blood is mixed with the seed. The Chawai have similar rites, but among these the priest mingles the blood of the sacrifice with corn taken from his own granary. The priest of the Pindiga Jukun makes, at sowing-time, a heap of earth, and on it sets 63 (*i.e.* $9 \times 7$)[1] pots of beer. He then takes some of the beer in his mouth and squirts it on the earth. The rest of the beer is sprinkled on the ground—clearly a fertility rite of the sympathetic order.

Among the Berom the chief of the tribe may not wash his body from the first day of planting until the grain has been gathered into the granaries; for if he washed, the soul of the corn would be destroyed. The chief of the Wukari Jukun is also regarded as having a peculiar connection with the crops, and as he rides out each year to the harvest festival at Puje he is hailed as "The giver of corn," "Our millet," "Our beans," and so on. Among the Jarawa at sowing-time the priest slays a chicken and offers prayer to the Sun. To each man small pieces of the sacrifice are given, and these he throws to the east and west, where the Sun, the ripener of crops, rises and sets.

During the growth of the corn various rites are performed at intervals. Thus when the corn is one foot high the Dakakari farmer holds a sacrificial feast on the farm, making prayers for an abundant harvest, and placing

[1] Seven is a sacred number among the Jukun and numerous other tribes.

fragments of the feast in a pot. When the crops are reaped he places samples of each kind of grain in the pot —an honorarium or thank-offering to the deities. The Kagoro observes similar rites. Most tribes put talismans or images among the standing crops to protect the soul of the corn, for passers-by can steal the soul by saying " What a fine crop it is ! " Among the Gwari, dances are held once a week from August until harvesting-time. They are performed by women, and have fertility significance.

When harvest comes elaborate rites have to be observed before any one may put his sickle to the crop. Sacrifice has first to be performed. Among the Rukuba the crops of the priest are reaped before any one may touch his own ; and among the Berom and Kugama the priest-chief first cuts down the millet, mingling among the first-fruits some powerful medicine. Among the Iyashi, at the close of the harvest all fires are extinguished, all hoes scrupulously cleaned, and the men then ceremonially wash themselves (like the chiefs among the Berom and the Kamuku).

Again, when the corn has been gathered in, no one may use it until rites of gratitude have been observed. Among the Angas a festival is held. The chief priest makes a porridge from the new grain, and, when he has partaken, all may then eat of their own harvested grain. Among the Chawai and numerous other tribes a brew of beer is made from the new grain ; the Sarkin Tsafi first partakes, and then the elders of the town. The use of new grain before the observance of these rites is sacrilege, and would cause the crops to lose their nutritive value. Among the Yoruba, prior to the eating of the new yams, the chief sacrifices a dog before the assembled people, and lays its body on the shrine as a thank-offering. The people then burst into songs of joy and thanksgiving, and, when they

return home, each family also makes its sacrifice. The Chamba eat the first-fruits ceremonially in the company of their ancestral spirits, burying in the ground for them a portion of the new grain. The Jukun also summon the souls of the dead at harvest-time. The Baushi associate a fruitful harvest with the spirits of their forefathers. When they bury their chief they say to him, " You have returned to earth, next year you will be earth. Prosper therefore our crop." The Gwari, like the Iyashi, commonly go through a ceremony of washing at harvest-time, and, before reaping the crops, ring bells to drive out evil spirits from the grain. The Gwari chief of Fuka goes into seclusion for a month, living in darkness in a specially constructed hut ; for he would die were he to see the Sun or Moon.

It is noteworthy that among many tribes (*e.g.* the Galambe) the harvest rites are not observed for crops that have been grown by women. These can be eaten immediately without any ill effects. Whether the women have any private agricultural rites is a question on which I have no information.

## *Head-hunting and Cannibalism*

*Distribution.* The head-hunting and cannibal tribes are[1] located in the central pagan belt extending from Yola to the confines of Zaria Province. All the cannibal tribes were head-hunters, but many head-hunting tribes were not cannibal and deny ever having been so. Some of these protest too much, as they have clearly only recently abandoned anthropophagy.

[1] The occasional use of the present tense in this section is not to be misunderstood. Head-hunting and cannibalism have been effectively suppressed.

The head-hunting tribes were :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Munshi | Ataka | Kagoma |
| Ankwe | Kaje | Bolewa |
| Owe | Jukun | Kinuku |
| Kagoro | Kibalo | Irigwe |
| Basange | Bachama and Bata | Idoma |
| Jera | Anaguta | Okpoto |
| Wurkum | Berom | Hill Mada |
| Teria | Igbira | Tera |
| Katab | | Kitimi |

The following tribes were admittedly cannibal :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tangale | Montoil | Waja |
| Kamu | Tula | Longuda |
| Angas | Yergum | Chum |
| Rukuba | Sura | Warjawa |
| Ganawuri | Jarawa | Zumper |
| Piri | Tal | Nungu |
| Plain Mada | Pe | Borok |
| Hill Angas (Plain Angas deny) | Mama | Kushi |
| | Jengre and Gusum | Pero |
| Iyashi | Chawai | Bangunji |
| Kaleri | Ngel | Ninzam |
| Awok | Mufon | |

*Head-hunting Rites.* The acquisition of an enemy's head is the young man's passport to manhood. Until he has attained this distinction his social status is no better than that of a girl, and no girl would consent to marry him. But when he has won his trophy, and can prove that it was obtained in the manner prescribed by custom, he can take his place in the ranks of the warriors, and his prowess is celebrated by a public feast. Among the Basange the hero is henceforth entitled to join the ranks of the Eju, or Brotherhood of Braves. The feast lasts seven nights, and the head-winner may only sleep during the day-time. His temples are swathed by his friends in a white bandage, into which feathers are stuck ; and his bow, arrows, and sword are adorned with cowry-shells.

Among the Idoma, when a head is obtained a gong is beaten at intervals for fourteen days and nights. The claimant must prove his prowess by cutting a ram in two at a single stroke. (If he fails he is required to produce evidence of the killing of the man whose skull he had obtained.) Half of the severed ram is claimed by his mother, and his father takes the other half. On the fifteenth day of the ceremonies the Braves assemble to drink together from the newly-won skull, the special brew being poured in from a jar surrounded with the sacred leaves of the shea-tree.

If all the rites were not accurately performed the dead man's soul would haunt his slayer. Among the Angas, only the old men could drink out of the skull of a slain enemy. If a young man did this the spirit of the dead enemy would rob him of his youth. Among the Sura the head-winner was carried round the town in a procession, holding out the severed head on the knob of his throwing-stick. The head was then buried in mud, and, when completely cleaned of flesh, was laid in the sacred shrine. Rukuba head-hunters hang the captured skulls on a tree round which the women dance. The skulls are not preserved. The Berom of Kuru carry home the captured heads in their bags of fibre slung from the shoulder. Three witnesses must testify that the head was obtained in open fight. The victor's friends then join in a dance, holding the head and tossing it from one to the other. The skull is then cleaned of flesh, made white with cactus juice, and finally deposited at the sacred shrine. During these rites the head-winner hides in a neighbouring village to escape pursuit by the dead man's soul. The Munshi head-hunter puts a medicine in his nose to prevent injury from the dead man's ghost. The Irigwe hang their

captured heads on trees in the bush until all the flesh is removed. The skulls are then brought in with songs and dancing, and laid in the sacred shrine.

The Yergum head-hunter carried home his victim's head on the point of his spear. The nose, mouth, and ears were blocked with the leaves of the sacred locust-tree, to prevent the escape of the dead man's spirit. A dance is then performed by the members of the head-hunters' guild, and no one else was allowed to attend. As they dance they sing praises to their god Nan. " Nan, thou hast given us the victory, and we have obtained a head. Prosper us always thus." The skulls were deposited in a pot at the sacred shrine, and were brought forth at intervals when dances were held.

The Igara head-hunter must obtain his head by a direct blow in a stand-up encounter. He may not first wound his adversary with an arrow and then cut off his head. He takes the head home and announces his triumph by beating two sticks together. Sacrifice is made to appease the dead man's spirit, the blood of a pullet being poured over the skull. Each year, before he may eat the new yams, he must repeat these sacrificial rites. Ever afterwards he is saluted by the honorary title of *Chachara*. The Ankwe also preserve their captured skulls in carefully cleaned pots, which are sealed and deposited in the sacred temple.

In contrast to the Igara custom the Anaguta head-hunter was acclaimed a hero in whatever manner he had obtained his head, so long as it was the head of a male enemy. He might sever and claim the head of a man who had been shot by a fellow warrior. The captured heads were hung, by strings passed through the cheeks, on the branches of the sacred tree. When eventually the

skull fell down it was deposited in a cave, but received no further attention. The head-hunters of Teria placed their captured heads on a sacred stone, and there they danced round in a circle shouting " Oho, Oho." No women might be present at this dance.

The Munshi cut off the heads of their enemies and carried them home on a forked stick, held at a distance from the body so that the dripping blood (which contains the dead man's soul) should fall clear. The victor cleaned the skull of flesh by burying it in mud. He then danced with the skull, and finally deposited it in the sacred shrine.

Among the Tangale the head is taken to the sacred grove, the officiating priest making some such prayer as this : " Here is my enemy, a man who hates me and whom I hate. He kills me when he meets me. God has now brought him under my feet. Let his people be shorn of their strength. Let their eyes be darkened. When our warriors go abroad, let the enemies be killed and us escape. May this man as a demon possess his father and his mother and all his family." To this the assembly yells applause, and the head is taken away to be cooked. The slayer is honoured in the dance that follows. He is wreathed in the leaves of the sacred locust-tree, and exhibits in triumph part of the dead man's body—but never the head.[1] The flesh of the head is eaten ceremonially next day by the elders, and the skull is buried outside the compound of the head-winner. It may subsequently be transferred to a pot and placed in the sacred grove. After an interval of months or years a dance is held, and purificatory rites take place " to wash the edge of the slayer's sword."

[1] This Tangale information was kindly given by Mr. J. S. Hall, of the Sudan Interior Mission at Kaltungo.

The Ganawuri warriors observed similar rites of purification. They carried home their heads on the points of their spears and handed them over to the Sarkin Tsafi, who subsequently returned them, each one to the slayer. The young warriors then joined in a dance, holding their spears and unsheathed knives in their right hands, each head-winner being followed by a friend, who exhibited on a stick the severed head. The heads were then delivered to the religious chief, who alone (with members of his family) could eat the flesh of heads, Next morning all the warriors betook themselves to a stream and washed their weapons clean of human blood. No women might be present at the head-hunters' dance, but next day a festival was held in which women and children took part.

Among the Igbira any one aspiring to the title of *Osegi* had to obtain a head. He took the head to the village shrine, and cleaned it of flesh by immersion in some corroding liquid. He then slew a red and black ram, and mixed the blood with pieces of the dried up heart and kidney of some enemy slain in war. He drank this mixture, and thereafter could face any danger without fear.

*Cannibal Rites.* Many of the head-hunting tribes were also cannibals. Not merely did they ceremonially eat the flesh of the captured head, but they devoured as well the other parts of the bodies of their enemies. The Ganawuri removed the flesh of their fallen foes, leaving only the bones and intestines. They rode home with the flesh spitted on their spears, and handed it over to the religious chief, who divided it out among the old men. The Sarkin Tsafi's portion was the flesh of the head. The hair was first removed, and then the flesh was stripped off, cooked, and eaten at the sacred shrine. The old men cooked their flesh in a pot, and ate it in a cave beside the shrine. This

was done on the night of the warriors' return ; but the young men themselves might not be partakers.

The Ganawuri only ate the flesh of enemies slain in war. They say that they never killed and ate enemy women, but that their neighbours the Ataka did. The Tangale head-hunters ate the flesh of the heads of enemy women, but without observing any ceremonial rites. Among the Tangale, the human flesh was, as among the Ganawuri, the prerogative of the old men. But they might, if they chose, give pieces to the young warriors. Occasionally even old women would be allowed to partake. The flesh was eaten ceremonially beneath the sacred tree that guarded each compound.

Rukuba cannibals ate the flesh of their captured enemies at their sacred shrine. Old men alone might eat, but the young men were smeared with the oily soup left over in the pot in which the human flesh had been boiled, a custom similar to that of the human " leopards " of Sierra Leone. Zumperi (Zumper) warriors handed over the captured heads to the fathers to eat, they themselves being satisfied with licking the blood off their weapons. The Kaleri ate their enemies killed in war, and they would until recently have killed and eaten any stranger who entered their country.

The Yergum cooked the flesh of their enemies two days after the warriors' return. The head was boiled separately, and only those who had killed a man in war could eat the flesh of the head ; but the remainder of the flesh could be eaten by any one, women and children included. Even the entrails were eaten, the intestines being cleaned with running water and ashes. The Jarawa ceremonially ate the flesh of the head, the hair being removed by coating the head with mud and then heating the mud in a fire.

The Hill Angas say that they never ate the flesh of young lads captured in battle, nor of elderly men. The lads could be sold into slavery, and the flesh of elderly men was too dried up to be palatable! The Sura cannibals boiled the flesh of their captured enemies with salt and oil, and ate it ceremonially. No women were allowed to see it. Young men were forced by their seniors to partake in order to increase their courage.

Among all the cannibal tribes the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet were considered the tit-bits of the body.

So far we have been considering cannibalism in its relation to head-hunting, and we note the following facts:

(*a*) As women and children, and frequently the warriors also, were excluded from eating the human flesh, and as only the bodies of slain enemies were eaten, the idea of mere gluttony does not seem to be prominent (except perhaps among the Yergum and Tangale).

(*b*) The Tangale ritual prayer quoted above shows that revenge and contempt were prominent ideas in their anthropophagy.

(*c*) Among the Sura and Angas we apparently find the conception that by eating the dead warrior his soul is assimilated and his strength and virtues acquired; for the Sura young man is compelled by his elders to eat in order that his courage may be increased, while the Angas deliberately refrain from eating immature lads and elderly men, presumably for the reason that the qualities of the former are undeveloped and of the latter impaired. The general preference for the palms of the hands and soles of the feet would seem to indicate the same idea, viz. that of acquiring strength.

(*d*) On this view also the common rule that only the old men may eat the flesh would be explained by saying that the old men required a renewal of youth, whereas the young had no such need.

(*e*) Lastly, by eating the flesh of the dead warriors the power of their spirits to work evil is overcome. This is, I believe, the root conception in these Nigerian cannibal rites.

Just as in our review of totemism we saw that old men might with impunity eat the flesh of sacred animals which were tabu to the rest of the community, so also the old men could eat the flesh of their enemies and thus devour their strength. "Let them be shorn of their strength," says the Tangale officiating priest. Special dangers were attached to the victim's head, and from this we may conclude that the head was regarded as the seat of the dead man's soul. By ceremonially eating the flesh of the skull the dead man's spirit is destroyed.

*Endo-Cannibalism.* Criminals of their own community were eaten by certain cannibal tribes. The Angas dealt in this way with persons sentenced to death. The Sura chief ate the flesh of women convicted of adultery ; and among the Warjawa any one who violated tribal law was sacrificed in the sacred grove, his blood being poured out as a libation, and his flesh consumed by the people. Here, again, the intention is less revenge and contempt or gluttony than the necessity of destroying utterly the dead man's spirit, that he may not seek vengeance after death or continue his nefarious activity ; for a man's soul remains active until his body is wholly destroyed.

Old men were commonly eaten by the Angas that their spirits might be dismissed from the world unweakened by disease. The members of a family would invite a neigh-

bouring quarter of the town to kill one of their old men, and would even offer payment for this service. His flesh was ceremonially eaten, but his head was returned to his family, and carefully preserved in a pot, before which sacrifice and prayer were afterwards annually made. This was a custom noted by Strabo of the Derbikes, a people of northern Iran, who killed and ate all men over seventy years of age. The practice is clearly animistic, for old women are not killed and eaten in this way. The old man's spirit is required to be a powerful and vigorous helper to the kin he has left behind. The delivery of the old man to the neighbouring quarter may be a relic of a totemic condition of society. Just as a totem animal was a kinsman and could not be eaten, so the members of a ward were kinsmen by a common totem, and could not therefore eat one of themselves.

The relation of human sacrifice to cannibalism is one of considerable interest, and it is noteworthy that while the more northerly head-hunters were cannibals, the more southerly practised human sacrifice. It would appear probable that the southerly tribes represent a cultural stage in advance, and that human sacrifice has evolved from anthropophagy. Human flesh is precious food, for as these primitive peoples believe that the gods eat the sacrifice what more palatable gift can be offered than a human victim !

Among the non-cannibal peoples we find many traces of former cannibal customs. The *Dodo* spirits of the bush devour human beings ; and in the common wer-hyena beliefs, according to which men turn into hyenas and feed on human bodies by night, we may see a relic of anthropophagy. Witches similarly feed by day on living human beings. In the folk-lore of the people there are

myths which purport to describe the origin of cannibalism. One of these myths is quoted by Captain Tremearne in *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*. It tells how a hawk flew over the palace of a certain king, holding in its claws a piece of human flesh. The flesh fell into the soup that was being cooked for the king, and no one saw it. So pleasant did he find this meat that he asked for it again, but no one could give it to him, or tell him what it was. And so he had every species of animal killed, but the mystery still remained. At last he slew a slave and ate his flesh ; and then he knew that the beautiful flavour was that of human flesh. Thereafter he ceased not to slay his people, so that they all rose up and ran away, and the king was left alone. Then he began to eat pieces of himself, until only his bones remained. And thus he died.

This Hausa story displays an early consciousness of cannibalism as being a violent act, and is also interesting in ascribing the motive of anthropophagy to mere gluttony.

The Zumper explain the origin of cannibalism among sections of their tribe by saying that it was due to a man accidentally eating a fly which had just fed on human blood.

*King-killing.* Among many of the warrior tribes of the Plateau it was customary for those men who felt themselves being overtaken by old age to invite their friends or children to save them from the horror of physical and mental infirmity. They were quietly put to death. By the Angas the duty of killing men who were getting old was imposed on members of a neighbouring ward or village. They ate the flesh of the body and returned the skull to the relatives. The intention is clearly animistic —to save the soul from being impregnated with the

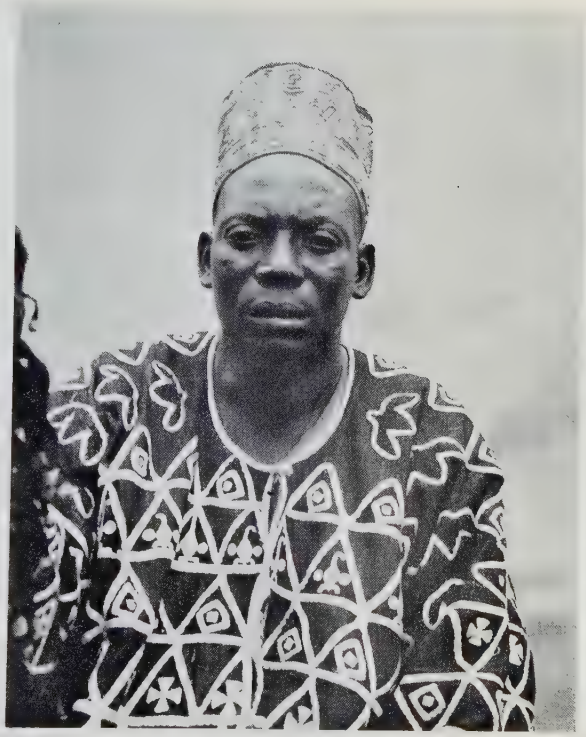

Fig. 101. The King of the Jukun—Muri Province

Fig. 102. The Abun Achuwo of the Jukun—Muri Province

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weakness of the body. A spirit thus enfeebled would be but a poor protector of the dead man's kin.

On the same principle we find in Nigeria the curious custom of the ceremonial execution of the king. It existed among the Yoruba, Jukun, and in the Hausa states of Gobir, Katsina, and Daura, and it was in this way that the public religion and the public life were maintained in their fullest vigour. We find indications of the custom in the Bornu chronicles (Kade being killed by Andakanna Dunama in 1285, and Nikale fighting one of his sons to preserve his throne in the fourteenth century); in the Bolewa traditions (Bulta fraternizing with, and then by trickery killing, the Habe chief of Kalem); in the Nupe tradition of Edegi killing his mother's brother Ma-Issa; in the Awtun custom that no chief of Awtun may rule more than seven years; and among the Kaje and Ngamo, who only permitted their chiefs to remain in office for a fixed period of years.

Elsewhere in Africa the custom of king-killing had a wide distribution. It was common in Ethiopia until the third century, the kings of Meroe having been killed in this way. The chiefs of the Dinka and Shilluk (in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan) were, on the first signs of old age, quietly put to death, with a view apparently of preserving unimpaired for their successors their inherent spirit of divinity.

The Zulu (who strikingly resemble the Nilotes, and many also of the peoples of Nigeria) also ceremonially killed their chiefs; and Mr. Roscoe has recently given a graphic account of the enforced suicide of the king of the Bantu-speaking Bunyoro. Dr. Seligman and others believe that the *Sed* festival of ancient Egypt was a survival of the custom of the ceremonial killing of the king. This

festival centred round Osiris, the murdered king who became a god. There are traces of king-killing in the records of Bagirmi and Wadai,[1] and also in the legends of Dagomba and Songhai.

In Nigeria the following points may be noted in connection with the custom. The king of the Jukun was only allowed to rule for seven years, and if during that period he fell ill, or even sneezed or coughed, or fell off his horse, he might be put to death, the duty of slaying him devolving on the head councillor, who is known as the Abun Achuwo.[2] The chief was, it is said, strangled. The entrails were removed, and the body was preserved by some process which included fumigation. It is said that his brain, kidneys, and heart were dried and eaten by his successor, together with the oil that exuded from the body during the process of desiccation. The custom of king-killing was broken down by a Jukun sovereign named Agumanu, who enlisted a Hausa bodyguard to preserve him from attack, and succeeded in ruling the Jukun for eleven years instead of seven. (A variant says that he avoided death by entrapping and killing the three religious chiefs whose duty it was to kill the king.)

In Katsina—a "Hausa" state—the chief was killed, as among the Shilluk, on the first signs of approaching old age. There was a regular official whose duty it was to murder his royal master. The body was immediately wrapped up in the skin of a bullock slaughtered for the purpose. Here we have a striking resemblance to the Bunyoro practice; for Mr. Roscoe tells us that when the king was slain "it was the duty of the prime chief to have the body stitched in a cow-hide at once." In all cases, apparently, the death of the king was kept secret until

[1] See Barth, vol. iii, pp. 434 and 530. [2] See illustration (Fig. 102).

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full arrangements had been made for the appointment of his successor. There are further striking coincidences between the Bunyoro, Jukun, and Katsina customs. The body of the murdered Jukun king was claimed and formally buried by his successor. This was also the custom among the Bunyoro. In both cases the body was preserved by desiccation. In Katsina the selection of a successor was signalized by throwing on the ground a sacred spear. Mr. Roscoe mentions a particular royal spear in connection with the slaying of the Bunyoro king. The Jukun (and I believe the Angas, Bachama, and Keri-Keri also) appear to have had a sacred spear, and indeed so had the Bagirmi. Sacred spears are also common among the Dinka. Gobir and Daura both apparently followed the practice of king-killing, and we have seen[1] that the Daura tradition of the killing of the dragon is probably nothing more than a veiled account of king-killing, for the dragon's name was Sarki and the name of the person who killed it was Ma-kas-Sarki; these expressions in the Hausa language mean respectively "chief" and the "slayer of the chief."

King-killing, we have said, was also common among the Igara and Yoruba. After a reign of six or seven years the Yoruba king was euphemistically invited "to take parrot's eggs." He forthwith made his arrangements and then calmly drank poison in his own house. His wife announced his death to the people, and his body was buried with all the pomp and reverence due to one who had become a god. There was an alternative method of announcing to a Yoruba chief that his time had come. When a son was born to the Alafin of Oyo a model was made of his right foot, and this was kept in the house of

[1] See vol. i. pp. 74, 75.

the Ogboni Society. If the king fell ill or failed to observe the customs of the country a messenger was sent to him with this model, and the king then took poison. The chief of the Remon Ijebu, a Yoruba sub-tribe, was (according to Mr. Parkinson) ceremonially killed after a reign of three years. The chief of the Igara was killed by having a cap filled with pepper drawn over his head ; he was then strangled.

Professor Seligman and Sir James Frazer seem to suggest that " rain-making " was a special function of " divine " kings who were ceremonially killed. No doubt that was so. It certainly was in the case of the Jukun chief. When the corpse of the Jukun chief was taken out for burial, mounted on a horse, some millet was placed in his right hand and in his left a gourd of water. As the chief rode off to take his long journey a loud wail arose from his assembled people, who besought the dead chief not to leave them thus bereft of corn and rain ; and so the horse was turned back again, and the dead chief's hands were made to shower their contents in the direction of his subjects. There are many Jukun traditions which ascribe to the king control over the elements. Thus on one occasion the king of Bornu caused the grass between the Jukun and Bornu armies to be set on fire, but the Jukun chief immediately summoned a shower of rain and the fire was quenched. Again, when the Fulani first threatened the Jukun, one of the Jukun minor chiefs in an outlying district consorted with the enemy. A drought ensued, and the traitor chief had to come to Wukari and petition the king to forgive him and send rain.

Rain-making is not, however, the sole function of a Negro king, and it is apparent that the custom of king-killing was associated with the idea that the king was possessed of many supernormal attributes. So powerful

was the spirit of the Jukun chief's person that the mere fact of touching the ground with his hands would blast the crops. The presence of a woman during her menses would pollute a Jukun's house, but a woman in this condition may enter the presence of the king, for his divine endowments render him proof against all evil influences.

Whilst giving full weight to the religious ideas underlying king-killing, we must remember that the custom was of great political importance. It limited the autocratic powers of the chief ; for on the slightest sign of oppressive conduct he could easily be charged with having broken one of the numerous tabus. It would also appear from the Jukun records that some of the more popular chiefs continued to rule their people for many years after the stipulated period. The custom of king-killing would appear to have originated with Ethiopian Hamites, and spread to other parts of Africa.

*Rain-making.* Provision is made in the religious economy of many Nigerian pagan tribes to secure an adequate supply of rain at suitable times. There is a regular ritual, the omission or incorrect performance of which would be attended with disastrous results. It so happens that in the more northerly, and consequently drier, districts less attention appears to be bestowed on the ceremonies for making rain than further south, where the rain-supply is generally more than adequate. We may ascribe this to the predominant influence of Islam in the north, but it should also be remembered that the habitat of the more southerly tribes was probably in former times considerably farther north than it is at the present day.

Many of the pagan tribes have no special ceremonies for rain. When they address their prayers for an abundant

harvest to their god, fetish, or the ancestral spirit, they no doubt include a direct petition for a good supply of rain at the right time. But it is only in case of an actual drought that they resort to the special magic designed for bringing on the rains. This magic is of the imitative order. Like produces like, and therefore, by the mere imitation of a phenomenon, that phenomenon occurs. Thus the central features of all ceremonies for rain is the squirting, by some specially appointed person, of liquid from the mouth in a manner resembling the falling of a shower of rain. Among the Rebinawa, for example, the priest, before the assembled town, makes his petition in front of the Sacred Stone, takes in his mouth a little beer, specially brewed for the purpose, and spits it out in a shower upon the altar. If the storm-cloud does not appear forthwith, then it is known that some impious hand has touched the Sacred Stone. Elaborate rites of purification would have to be performed, the altar being sprinkled with the blood of a pullet. But continued failure on the part of the priest to induce the needed rain would lead to his deposition and the substitution of one of his sons.

Among the Angas rain-making is a special department of the Sarkin Tsafi's general duties. There is a special "Rain" hut, in which a sacred pot of water is kept throughout the wet season. If the rain fails or is delayed all the people assemble outside the "Rain" hut. The Sarkin Tsafi enters, sacrifices a pullet, and pours the blood round the base of the pot of water. He then addresses the water with these words: "Water, thou seest that our farms are all dried up. We beseech thee to come down upon our crops." Then taking a mouthful of water from the pot, he squirts it all round him in a shower. If rain

does not follow quickly it is because the Sarkin Tsafi was not in a proper frame of mind. Some angry words that had passed between him and a member of his family or of the community had caused discordant thoughts. To set matters right there must be an "at-one-ment." To purge the evil feeling he offers up a goat at the central shrine, and all is then well. The sympathetic magic used is thus only an outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual feelings. Here we have the germs of true religion and ethics. Mere sacrifice unaccompanied by a right attitude of mind is unacceptable to the gods.

Occasionally other imitative rites are used besides the squirting of water or beer from the mouth. Thus among the Barke in times of drought the people collect on a sacred hill, and, as they call for rain, they throw over their shoulders showers of charcoal dust. Again, among the Ganawuri, the rain-maker goes to the bush, with his assistant, who holds aloft a winnowing-fan. The rain-maker addresses a prayer to the Sun, holding in his hand a branch of the sacred *chediya* tree (*Ficus Thonningii*). He then fills his cheeks with air, and blows it out ; and immediately (it is said) grains of millet fall from heaven on the fan. This symbolizes the fall of the rain which will surely follow these rites. The Bachama have a sacred pot which is set out in the open air when rain is required. It is said that, when the rain comes in answer to their petition, the pot never overflows.

Some tribes do not use sympathetic magic for obtaining rain. The Jarawa, for example, merely retire to the sacred grove and there blow the sacred horn, which is their religious panacea. Among the Kororofa and Wukari Jukun, the civil chief was held responsible for the rains. If there was a deficiency the seer consulted the divinatory

apparatus, and would then inform the chief that he had departed from some custom of the tribe. The chief then tied a black robe round his waist, and, asking forgiveness of his forefathers, besought them to interfere no longer with the rain. He may never wear a black cloth during harvest, as that would cause rain to fall and so destroy the crops. The Jukun chief's rain-making abilities secured his political power, because he could stop the rain-supply of any town that had displeased him.

Among the Gwana Jukun, rain-making ceremonies are intimately connected with the worship of the *Dodos*. When rain is due the *Dodo* (or tutelary genius) is brought forth. Each community has several *Dodos*, and their powers of bringing rain at the right time are tested in rotation according to their seniority. Thus in one community, whose customs I investigated, Adung was the senior *Dodo*, and he was brought forth to control the weather twice a year—at sowing and at harvest-time. After the first break in the rains the *Dodo* Baku is invoked, and late in June the *Dodo* named Nepong comes forth to carry on the rains for a further period.

The procedure at sowing-time is as follows. The political head of the community goes to the religious head and says, " I think the time has come when we should address our petition to the *Dodo* for the yearly rain-supply, for if rain is lacking my people will be discontented." And so, accompanied by the senior men, they repair to the presence of the *Dodo*. The Sarkin Tsafi offers the sacrifice, makes the petition for rain, and then squirts from his mouth a shower of water. As with the Angas, so with the Jukun ; if rain does not come, the Sarkin Tsafi's equanimity had been disturbed by some member of the community. The civil chief has thereupon, on behalf of the offending individual

Fig. 103. Meeting of the elders of Forum to enquire into the cause of a drought—Bauchi Province

*From negative kindly lent by Mr. T. L. Suffill*

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in particular, and the community in general, to make certain offerings to the Sarkin Tsafi. Sacrifice is made with two pots of beer and a brace of chickens. The ritual followed is interesting. The chickens have their throats cut and the blood is sprinkled on the shrine. The chicken is then plucked and boiled, and minute pieces of the best portions are left for the *Dodo* to eat. The remainder is consumed by the Sarkin Tsafi and members of his family. It is essential that the Sarkin Tsafi himself should partake. To refrain would be an insult to the *Dodo*, and the Sarkin Tsafi would, it is said, be punished by an untimely death.

Among some tribes the rain-controllers are persons other than the religious or civil heads of the community. Thus among the Pindiga Jukun there is a family of official rain-makers known as *Kuru* ; and among the Afawa the rain-makers are the oldest representatives of the family that first founded the town. The reason for this is obviously connected with ancestor-worship. Again, we find frequently that purely private individuals have special powers in the matter of inhibiting the rains. Among the Berom, for example, if the rain is late, or stops prematurely, a council is held. The old men meet to probe the matter and find out the offender. The young warriors are directed first to engage in mimic warfare in order to strike terror into the guilty man, and then to hold a council and report their finding to their seniors. Last year there was occasion at Forum for such an investigation, and the young men reported to the elders that the person responsible for climbing to the skies and interfering with the rain lived in a certain quarter of the town. No name was mentioned, as there is only one person in each quarter endowed with the special powers. The council accordingly proclaimed that the person in that quarter who was

interfering with the rain must immediately desist or he would meet with a speedy death. Private individuals who exercise these irregular powers do not, to the native mind, differ from witches.

We have seen that the rain-makers are occasionally deposed, and when this happens they are succeeded by their sons. Deposition, however, is rare, as various excuses, such as sacrilege, witchcraft, etc., involving lengthy investigations and atoning sacrifices, give the rain-maker a week or a fortnight's grace, and this is generally sufficient in a country where marked meteorological variations are the exception rather than the rule. Possibly the comparative absence of rain-making ceremonies in the regions of the extreme north, where the rainfall is subject to greater variations, is due to the fact that rain-makers would find their position there intolerable. The most noted rain-makers live in districts where the rain-supply is abnormally high. Thus Sarkin Yero, the great rain-maker and spiritual head of the Mumuye tribe, resides at the headwaters of three important rivers.

On the death of a rain-making chief the office passes to his son—the most suitable, and not necessarily the eldest. Before confirmation in his office he is generally (as among the Mumuye) put on probation for a period of two years. He has to carry out, without a flaw, all the ritual for rain ; and presumably if the rains were unsatisfactory during his period of probation he would be regarded as incompetent. The chief rain-maker of the Mumuye is confirmed in his office by the elders, and he in turn appoints the priests of the various local cults.

*Divination and Omens.* Peoples with animistic ideas are so surrounded with occult influences that there is danger for them at every turn ; and so before undertaking

any matter of importance they find it necessary first to ascertain the chances of success. This is done by means of divination and the allied art of augury. By these the future can be read and the past interpreted, the causes of disease can be discerned, witches smelt out, and the authors of crime revealed.

Divination is to a great extent an esoteric art; for, although the means of divining are open for all to see, the interpretation of the symbols and omens is dependent on a secret knowledge which is passed on in certain families. The Yoruba divinatory cult, for example, has its own hierarchy. Among the Angas there are professional *Gopa*. Among the Basa are the *Tua*, and in most tribes we find hereditary diviners, known to the Hausa by the contemptuous title of the *Yan Boka*, or "children of a charlatan." They derive their power to divine from some dead relative. Further, the ordinary village priests and priestesses, in their capacity as inquirers of the gods, must also be regarded as part of the divinatory system.

Among the Longuda the priestess stands in front of the gods shaking her calabash of corn, and in this way hears the divine answer to the suppliant's inquiry. Among the Jukun the shamanistic priestess of *Yaku* summons the ancestral spirits, and, possessed by them, falls into a trance and utters oracles.[1]

Among the Yoruba and allied tribes divination plays so important a part in the life of the people that there is a cult of *Ifa* in every town. Ifa can be approached through his priests on certain days. The god uses as his medium sixteen strings of palm-kernels, which have been conse-

[1] The priests of the Vedda of Ceylon become similarly possessed by their ancestral spirits, who are also called *Yaku*.

crated to his use by certain elaborate rites. Each string represents some minor divinity and has sixteen kernels attached to it—the total number of kernels being thus 256. With the kernels are associated a great many stories of the gods, and according to the combination of the number of the kernels, after they have been passed through the hand, so is the priest able to apply these various tales to the case in point.

The Nupe method is somewhat different. The priest uses eight strings of berries. At his right hand he sets a neolithic axe-head, consecrated by libations of beer and blood. He then addresses the divinatory strings as follows: "Thou art a tree and bearest fruit, and the birds of the air eat thereof. Whatsoever thou sayest will come to pass. Speak therefore." He then taps the axe-head with the tusk of a wart-hog, and after that gently strikes each of the berries on the strings. By the resultant sounds he draws his conclusions, and if he fails to understand the purport of the message he reverses the strings and begins again, continuing until all is clear. It is apparent that there is a good deal of subjectivity in this mode of divination (as in most others).

The Jukun divinatory method resembles that of the Nupe and Yoruba, and consists of six strings of calabash discs. It is consulted on all manners involving the public and private welfare.

Divination by peas and a tortoise-shell is common among many tribes, notably the Gwari. The peas are shaken up in the tortoise-shell and then gathered in the hand. According as the number is odd or even a mark is made in the ground, and finally, by the combination of the various odd and even marks, a meaning is obtained.

Among the Angas, in addition to the professional diviners, who can warn people against dangers (such as marrying the wrong persons !), and who decides whether an unhealthy child should be allowed to live, private individuals can take the auspices for themselves. The method of doing this is to place food on an ant's nest and then ask a specific question. If the food is eaten the answer is "Yes"; if it is left untouched the answer is "No."

Ant-heaps are commonly used as a method of obtaining messages from the gods. Among the Keri-Keri, at the annual festival, the elders sit round a trench in which the tops of ant-heaps have been placed, together with certain sticks and the blood of the sacrifice. The old men can then receive prophetic messages.

The Kudawa seek guidance for the future by assembling together at the sacred grove, where the priest cuts the head off a chicken. Their course of action depends on whether the beheaded chicken falls forward or on its back. Among the Kamberi, if the beheaded fowl flaps its wings the gods have heard the petition of the priest.

Among the Angas, again, the wild gardenia bush is often to be seen with stones sticking in the branches. The reason is that people who intend to hunt or take a journey pitch a stone into this bush-tree. If the stone remains it is a sign that good luck will attend them, but if it falls the venture is postponed to some more propitious time.

There are countless other tokens of good and evil. The owl among all the tribes presages evil, and if it is heard screeching near a house at night the occupants will often get up from bed and drive it off. Among the Yoruba and Idoma, in particular, wizards are thought to embody themselves in owls.

Again, there are lucky and unlucky days. Some Gwari will not work on Wednesdays; if they used a hoe on that day and injured themselves the wound would never heal.

Among the Muslims, generally, shaving on Thursday is tabu, and so is washing on the last Wednesday of the month.

Before going to war and engaging in a hunting battue the auspices are taken by the priests or the leader of the hunt. The entrails of the sacrifice are examined, as they were by the College of Augurs at Rome. Or, if the spoor of many animals can be traced in ashes, the hunt will be propitious.

Among the Muslims divination is practised by the malams in a variety of ways. By an elaborate system of making marks on the sand they can tell the precise day on which the rains will begin. The election of chiefs is often left to the malams to decide by lot. The names of the candidates are written on slips of paper and thrown into ash-water. The name on the piece of paper which bobs up first is considered to be Allah's choice. Manipulation of the result is easy, and there can be little doubt about the human element in such divine elections.

## Religion. B. Private Aspect

*Birth Ceremonies.* Pregnancy is, among many of the tribes, Muslim included, commonly held to be due to the entrance of an ancestral spirit into the woman's womb. She is warned in dreams of the desire of the dead ancestor to be re-incarnated, and when the child is born the ancestor is easily recognized by his cries and movements, as well as by a physical likeness, which may extend to

Fig. 104. Two Berom women —Bauchi Province

Fig. 105. A Paiem woman and child

such small details as the presence of moles or other bodily blemishes. This belief co-exists with the knowledge that sexual relations are necessary for conception, and that the period of gestation usually lasts about nine months. Many Negro peoples, however, believe that this period may be considerably longer, and it is worth noting that among the Shafiite and Malikite Muslims a condition of pregnancy is regarded as possible for four or seven years, and that children born so long after the dissolution of marriage may still be reckoned as legitimate.

The condition of pregnancy (and childbirth) involves a state of tabu, and it may be for this reason that, among the Chamba, custom forbids a pregnant woman to leave the compound ; and among some other tribes (*e.g.* Jarawa) a husband may not have relations with his wife after the sixth month—a prohibition which usually lasts until the child is weaned or able to crawl. During pregnancy various religious rites have often to be performed. Among the Berom, for example, there is the ritual of Mbon, which is carried out during the fourth month of pregnancy. The husband shaves the head of his wife and children, leaving only a small tuft of hair on the crown of the head. All present are then liberally anointed with oil and form a procession to the cave of the priest of Mbon, headed by the wife, who carries a dish of hot gruel, and followed by the husband and friend, who carry a closed basket and a chicken respectively. The gruel is deposited at the house of the priest. On approaching the cave the woman covers her eyes with one hand and is led inside the cave, the friends remaining without. The priest cuts off the remaining tuft of hair and throws it on one side. The wing and tail feathers of the chicken are pulled out and hung up. The chicken is killed and cooked, and the

young woman is then led out. The ceremony concludes with a dance.

In the sixth month, and at various intervals later, other rites are performed. In one of these the husband and wife, seated on a log, drink beer together five times from a vessel kept expressly for this purpose by the village priest. The vessel, which has a handle and covering of hide, is held to the lips of the husband and wife, and they are forbidden by the priest to touch it with their hands. A noteworthy feature of these Berom rites is the important part played throughout by the woman's maternal uncle. Among the Kede an enceinte woman does not comb or shave her hair until eight days after the birth of her child.

Material preparations for the birth are made well in advance by most of the tribes. Among the Hausa an enceinte woman begins collecting firewood about the fifth month, in order that, when her time comes, there may be a plentiful supply of hot water, with which she is regularly bathed from the day of her delivery for a period of one hundred days. During the sixth month she also collects supplies of ginger, pepper, and other pungent materials. These are beaten up and put on one side.

For the birth of a first child the young wife usually returns to her parents' home about the eighth month. The husband does not accompany her. He is absent also during the delivery, and for some days subsequently—a relic no doubt of earlier matrilineal social conditions.

It remains to add that among several tribes (*e.g.* Mumuye and Chamba) abortion is practised by massaging the abdomen (the foetus being compressed between iron rings worn on the finger), or by drinking various concoctions of herbs mixed with honey.

Fig. 106. A Berom woman feeding her child—Bauchi Province

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

*From negative kindly lent by Mr. T. L. Suffill of Forum*

*Delivery.* A woman who is about to give birth is attended by female friends, and one or two old women who act as midwives. Among some tribes (*e.g.* Jarawa) the girl's mother is also present. The main duty of the midwife appears to be the severing of the umbilical cord. She receives no payment for her services, but is given a piece of goat's flesh at the naming ceremony.

The Hausa woman delivers her child in the genu-pectoral position ; but the sitting position, either on a platform of stones (Jarawa) or a flat stone (Chamba), a plank of wood (Teria), a wooden stool (Barke), or simply on the ground (Paiemawa), is usual among the pagan tribes, the legs being held apart by the midwives and the shoulders supported by female friends.

The umbilical cord is severed by a sharpened reed (Paiemawa). The Berom lay the cord over a piece of broken pot, and sever it with a knife if the child is a boy, or with a piece of sword-grass if a girl. The disposal of the placenta is among most tribes a matter of considerable importance. The Hausa place the placenta in a pot and bury it at the back of the house. The child is thereby ever afterwards drawn to the place of his birth—an idea which we also find among the Swahili of East Africa. The Berom, Jarawa, Paiemawa, and Teria have a similar custom, depositing the pots in a place used by the village for this purpose.

It would appear that the afterbirth is generally regarded as being the double of the child. Among the Jarawa it is believed that a young mother whose reproductive powers had failed can have her fruitfulness restored by repairing to the spot where the placenta of her first-born had been deposited. The part of the umbilical cord which still remains attached to the child is, among the Berom,

regularly painted with oil until, after five or six days, it falls off. It is then taken, together with some guinea-corn, and deposited beside the afterbirth. Children born with teeth, or who cut the upper teeth before the lower, were among some tribes (*e.g.* Igbira, Kamuku, etc.) put to death.

The young child is bathed with tepid water and rubbed over with oil. For the first three days his only food is a little water, as the mother's milk is, during this period, considered dangerous. The Chamba baby is given a hot solution of the leaf-juice of the *Bauhinia reticulata* tree (*kalgo*). Among the Chawai the child's first drink is some specially sanctified water sent by the father through the father-in-law. It may be convenient to note here a method of feeding young children which can be seen among the Angas and Berom. The child is held flat across the mother's knee. The mother makes a cup of the hollow of her right hand, and with her left hand pours water or liquid gruel into this hollow. She then presses the little finger of her right hand over the child's nose, thereby closing the nasal passages and forcing the child to open his mouth, into which the liquid is allowed to trickle. This forcible feeding often causes the child to gurgle and choke, and seems to leave him in a somewhat exhausted condition. The mother finally licks the baby's face.

The diet of a woman who has just given birth is at first a light porridge, with a peppery mixture introduced. The custom of bathing or sprinkling the body with hot water is widespread. Among the Chamba the leaves of the *Bauhinia reticulata* are introduced into the hot water, and the woman's abdomen is gently massaged for a week. Among the Hausa and Fulani the sprinkling with hot water is continued twice a day for forty days, and once a day for a further sixty days.

The father formally acknowledges his paternity by gifts to his wife and child. Amulets are fastened round the child's arms, neck, or ankles ; and among the Piri and Yergum a pot with a human-shaped head is made, and put with the child as a charm. If the babe falls sick, beer is poured into the pot and then given to the child. The Waja, Chamba, and Pindiga Jukun observe similar rites in the case of twins. Among some tribes (*e.g.* the Kamberi of Yakide) the father plants a silk-cotton tree on the day a son is born, in order, it is said, that the son may be able later to provide himself with a canoe. The custom of planting a tree on the birth of a child is common elsewhere in the world, and is thought to establish a mystic relationship between the child and tree.

*Twins.* The birth of twins is never wholly regarded with equanimity. It is an abnormal event, and the abnormal is to the Negro portentous. The birth of twins, therefore, is either extremely propitious or fraught with danger to the entire community. In the latter case the evil must be warded off by the immediate slaughter of one or both of the twins, and by the observance of certain rites. Different sections of the same tribe may hold opposing views. Thus among the Nupe of Lafiagi twins are unlucky, but lucky among the Nupe of Kpada. As a rule, however, the tribal opinion is uniform.

The following tribes appear to regard twins with definite disfavour : Bachama, Bata, Babur, Bura, Chamba, Tikar, Nyimaltu (Tera), Hina, Kona, Jukun, Dadiya, Bangunji, Kushi, Borok, Pero, Kamu, Mumbake, Vere, Tal, Pai-emawa, Berom, Irigwe, Yeskwa, Jaba, Kadara, Pongo, Owe, Nupe, Igbira, Gwari, and Yoruba.

The reason assigned for the horror of twins is that their

mode of birth is non-human.[1] One must be an evil spirit ; and so among the Yoruba, Irigwe, Pongo, and Owe only the first child was allowed to live, the second being starved to death or given a fatal draught of ash-water. The Yoruba parent had a doll made, so that the remaining twin should not feel lonely. Paiemawa parents gave the second child away to strangers. Some of the other tribes, no doubt, either killed both twins or got rid of one. But where we find special ceremonies for twins we may regard these ceremonies as an alleviation of the former practice of sacrificing their lives. The Tikar, for instance, have a special ceremony of giving consecrated beer to the new-born twins to drink ; and among the Chamba the father of twins has a double-mouthed pot and double bangles made for his untoward offspring. The Pindiga Jukun have similar rites, and the foreheads of the children are powdered with charcoal. If these rites are not observed the father's crops would wither. The idea that the parents may suffer at the hands of their twin children is also found among the Kamu ; and it is worth noting that this is the belief of the Nilotic Latuka, as well as of the Antambahoaka of Madagascar.

Among the Piri, only female twins are unlucky. Among the Jukun and Katab twins are unlucky if they are of the same sex. This differentiation would seem to rest on the biological fact that twins resemble each other when their sex is the same ; and it is no doubt on account of this close physical resemblance that one of the twins is believed to be an evil spirit.

Among tribes which regard twins as definitely propitious we may note the Ngizim, Bede, Keri-Keri, Igara, Jera, Waja, Bolewa, and many others. The twins are

[1] It is also sometimes said that twins are the result of adultery.

due to the direct intervention of well-disposed spirits. Among the Waja the news of the birth of twins is received with acclamation, and all clap their hands and shout out that " To-day royal personages have come to dwell in the town." The happy parents are congratulated by the entire population, and a feast is held.

The twins are believed to be endowed with special powers. Among the Igara they are believed to be able to foretell the sex of any unborn child ; and among the Hausa, who regard twins with a religious awe, they are said to be able to pick up snakes and scorpions without hurt, to stop a kettle boiling by the mere exercise of their wills, and so on.

As regards triplets I have no information, except that among the Margi two of the triplets are left on an ant-heap to die.

*The Naming Ceremony.* A few days after a child's birth a naming festival is held. Among the Igbira this occurs on the fifth day, the child being named by his father, who pours upon the ground a libation of beer to the ancestral spirits, imploring their aid on behalf of his child. The Ngamo, Keri-Keri, and Ngizim custom is for the mother to name the first-born child, all subsequent children being named by the father.

Among the Berom two of the old women who have acted as midwives each select a name for the child, and then repair to cross-roads, where they sprinkle corn for the spirits. They then race homewards, and the child receives the name chosen by the old lady who reaches the compound first. Among the Barke the father chooses the name, generally of some dead relative—not, they say, because of any re-incarnation beliefs, but in order that the family name may be preserved. A dog is slaughtered

and consumed at this festival, and although the mother is present the father is not. Among the Jen the child's name is given by the mother's family—by the wife's father in the case of a male, and by the wife's mother in the case of a female child. It is said that among the Vere the child's name is given by the paternal grandfather, and if this is so the Vere can hardly be matrilineal, as has elsewhere been reported. Among the Piri the child is not named until he can walk.

Among the Muslims the naming ceremony generally takes place seven days after birth in the presence of the malams of the town. Neither of the child's parents is present, and the name is chosen by the malams. All join in prayers and thanksgiving. After the naming ceremony the barbers in the town assemble and formally remove all hair from the head of the child. The tribal marks are then incised, in accordance with directions given by the child's paternal grandmother, who is the repository for all information of this kind.

Names among the southern tribes are commonly chosen by the divinatory method. Thus, among the Igara, the seer decides whether the child is some re-incarnated relative. Should it appear that he is the father's father re-embodied, he will be given the name of his paternal grandfather, and treated with the utmost respect by his father. Among the Pindiga Jukun a child who cries excessively is taken to the seer, who declares that he is some dead relative, and that if he is given the relative's name the crying will cease.

Where a child is not given the name of one of his ancestors he may be called after the time of day, or season of the year on which he is born. Thus among the Paiemawa and Angas a child is often called " Night " or

"Wet Season." Among these tribes children may also be named after some animal, and are carried by their mothers in satchels made from the skin of the animal after which they are called. The Tangale commonly call their children after some physical feature, plant, animal, or natural phenomenon. Phrases are also commonly used as personal names. Muslims, for example, will call a child "God-will-prevail." A Bobar father already blessed with several children would call a subsequent child "Many-are-best."

Twins are given special names. For example, among the Yergum twin boys are called Tali and Bali. In this tribe also a child with bloodshot eyes would be called Wuyep (m.) or Waiyep (f.); a child with twelve fingers is called Jeta (m.) or Nate (f.); if he has a mark on the lobe of his ear he is known as Meri (m.) or Iri (f.). A Fulani female child born after a succession of sons is called Dudu. Common names for Chamba boys are "Unafraid-of-an-arrow" (Livella), and for girls "Remembrance" (Tirencho). An Igara child who is born with a caul is known as Yabi.

Among the peoples of Kaiama (Kontagora) a woman who has lost several children will give to her next-born some contemptible name. She will treat him with a feigned disdain, and even pretend to offer him for sale in the market-place. The evil spirit that had robbed her of her former children will then be cheated into thinking that the mother does not want her child, and so, to spite her, will allow the child to live. Special dangers surround a first-born child, and it is no doubt for this reason that the Hausa father and mother pretend to be ashamed of and scorn their first-born, and refuse even to give him a name at all. In all the Hausa provinces, when parents

have lost several of their children, they shave one side of the heads of their remaining children. When the hair begins to grow the other side is shaved, and this process is continued until the age of six in the case of a girl, and the time of puberty in the case of a boy. A boy thus marked may be known as Bawa (" Slave "), Jibji (" Dunhill "), Sakaina (" Pieces of broken pottery "), or some other disrespectful term.

We have seen elsewhere that the use of personal names is often avoided, *e.g.* between a husband and his first wife ; and we may note here also that among some tribes (*e.g.* the Tangale) no one may use the personal name of the village priest. The names of the dead are also commonly tabu, as the use of a dead man's name might bring back his spirit to distress his family. The Tangale carry this tabu so far that a family who had lost a member called " Water " will avoid using the word " water " altogether, employing a synonym instead. A man's name among Negro peoples is, in fact, identified with his very soul, and for this reason a child is often (*e.g.* by the Hausa) given two names—the first a secret name whispered into his ear by his mother, and the second a name for daily use, which is a designation rather than a real name. This custom has been noted also among the Mandingo of the French Sudan.

It remains to say that names are frequently changed—very often for what appears to be a trivial cause.

*Purificatory Rites.* Child-bearing, we have said, induces a state of tabu. An Idoma husband for this reason will not eat food cooked by his wife until three months have elapsed from the date of delivery. The Hausa mother who goes home to her parents for her first child does not return to her husband until the expiration of one hundred

days, and the Fulani woman until two years have passed away. In no case may marital relations be resumed earlier than two years among most of the tribes unless the child has died in the meantime.[1] But an Idoma husband only lives one year away from his wife, and among the Zabermawa normal marital relations are resumed after the lapse of only six weeks.

Among the Berom a woman who has given birth is not allowed to do any work or cooking for two months, and, before she can return to her normal life, purificatory rites have to be performed. Beer is made by the husband—the grain having been previously prepared by the women of the household. The mother is given a present, and the beer is ceremonially drunk. This ceremony concludes the state of tabu, and re-admits the woman to society.

### *Circumcision, Initiation, and Secret Societies*

All the Muslim and most of the animistic tribes practise male circumcision. Some animistic tribes, however, do not—and never did—observe the rite, while others that now observe it did not, apparently, do so formerly. In some communities again the ancient custom seems to have fallen into disuse. Thus within the limits of a single tribe we may find groups that circumcise and others that do not.

The non-circumcising tribes would appear to be the following: Achipawa, Aringiu (Pongo), Awok, some Borom, Bachama, Bangunji, Bata, Berom, Borok, Chum, Dadiya, Dakakari (Kellini section), Dukawa, Ganawuri, Kamu, Kamberi, Koro, Kushi, Lala, Longuda, Mama, Mbula, some Mumuye (Waka), Nungu, Pai (Pe),

[1] This prohibition would appear to rest on the observation that pregnancy sometimes interferes with lactation.

Pero, Tangale, Tula, and Waja. Some Munshi (Bai-Pusu) did not circumcise in former times, nor apparently did the Kede. The Yergum circumcise, but the Yergum chief does not. If he did, the crops, they say, would fail. This would indicate either that the Yergum people have changed their ancient custom, or that the Yergum chiefs are of foreign extraction. It will be seen later that the majority of the tribes mentioned above belong to the Middle linguistic group. In French West Africa the non-circumcising tribes are apparently all members of the Volta family.

The operation of circumcision is generally, but not always, closely associated with the initiation rites by which boys are formally admitted to membership of the tribe. In such cases it may be regarded as the outward and visible sign of the change of nature involved in initiation; but that circumcision is not a necessary feature of initiation is apparent from the fact that whereas most tribes hold initiation rites, only some circumcise, while among other tribes which practise circumcision the initiation rites are kept totally distinct from those of circumcision. Among the Jarawa, Chamba, Mumuye, and Denu, for example, circumcision may be purely a private matter carried out at any time suitable to the parents. But initiation into the tribal mysteries is a corporate ceremony which all boys must attend. It might appear, however, that, in the case of the tribes named above, circumcision was originally closely associated with initiation, and has only recently become a separate rite on account of the inconveniently long intervals which separate the holding of initiation ceremonies. For among the Jarawa, at any rate, when the initiation ceremony is held, all novices who have not previously

undergone the operation of circumcision must do so during the initiation rites. Circumcision is probably a non-Negro custom grafted on to the tribal cult, and it is noteworthy that, while Negroes can give clear reasons for initiation rites, they are unable to give any for those of circumcision.

*Muslim Rites.* Among some of the Muslim tribes the primitive character of the rite of circumcision has not altogether been lost ; for it is still customary among the Hausa and Zaberma to circumcise children in groups between the ages of seven and nine. The ceremony is regarded as an initiation into manhood. After the operation has been performed the child is told that he has become a man that day. It is also a test of endurance. The operation is performed publicly, and any boy who screams or flinches would disgrace his parents. Furthermore, the rite of circumcision has still an important place in the social organization of these Muslim peoples. Those who are circumcised together form a single social unit. They play together as young lads, and are bound together by a common seniority which remains with them till they die. Circumcision would thus appear to have had an ancient connection with the Negro system of age grades. To the Yoruba and Nupe Muslims circumcision has lost its social significance in this respect, as it is performed generally when the children are small, *i.e.* on the fortieth day after birth.

The method commonly followed by Muslims in performing the operation is as follows : The boy's head is shaven, and the shorn hair placed in a hole in the ground in front of the boy. This hair is then set on fire, and the razor held in the smoke that rises. This would appear to be a magical rite of the sympathetic order. By burning

the hair of the head diseases of the head cannot be communicated by the razor to the penis. If the lad shows signs of fear his hands are drawn behind his back, and his legs are held straight out in front, to prevent movement. The barber sits down in front of the lad, makes a circular incision in the prepuce, and pulls off the outer skin. He then makes a slight incision in the end of the mucous membrane that is left, and, by holding a flap of the membrane in his left hand, he is able, with another circular cut, to remove the remainder of the prepuce. The ablated prepuce is put into the hole in the ground, which also receives the blood. The barber next spits the juice of acacia seeds on the wound, and fits a protective triangle of guinea-corn stalks on to the end of the penis. If the bleeding is excessive bandages of hemp-leaves are applied. When the bleeding stops the penis is washed in a mixture of cold water and acacia juice. The boys are then carried home, and are not allowed to recline on mats for several days. They are made to sit on the ground, and a stick is placed between the knees to keep the legs apart while asleep. During the operation the boys' relatives on the mother's side of the family dance and sing and break pots to drown the cries of their frightened cousin. (The breaking of pots during circumcision is also common in Tunis.)

*Pagan Initiation Rites.* Among the animistic tribes circumcision, we have said, is usually a central feature of the rites known as initiation. Through these rites the boys become men of the tribe, they receive a new nature, and are mystically united with their ancestors and the tutelary genius (*Dodo*) of the tribe. As the rites have thus a magico-religious character they are carried out with the strictest secrecy. No woman or stranger may be present,

and death is the penalty generally prescribed for disclosing the secrets of initiation.

The age at which initiation takes place varies, being anything from one to fifteen or twenty. Among the Rebinawa even suckling children are, at the circumcision festival, taken to the bush and shown the sacred shrine, before being returned to their mothers. The general age is about seven or eight. Initiation rites, therefore, do not synchronize with physiological puberty. The ceremonies are held at intervals varying from one to ten years. Some Jarawa hold ceremonies every ten years ; the Denu, Seiyawa, and Zul every fifth year ; the Paiemawa every third year ; the Rebinawa every eighth year, and so on. The Ngwoi had not in 1915 observed any rites for fifteen years.

The rites are in the hands of the natural repositories of tribal custom—the old men, led by the Sarkin Tsafi. The boys are collected and taken to some sacred spot in the bush—a grove, hill, or cave. Those who show reluctance are easily persuaded by promises of gifts. They live in temporary shelters, and their food is sent daily from the village by the women (who are forbidden to approach the sacred place). The food may be of a special character. Thus, among the Seiyawa, flour, locust-bean spice, ashes, and beans are the only articles of diet allowed.

There is a preliminary training lasting from a few days to a month. During this period the boys are instructed by the old men in the lore of the tribe. They are taught to be obedient and respectful. Corporal "punishment" is frequently administered before and after circumcision. Among the Seiyawa this is done regularly every day by the Sarkin Tsafi, the boys being brought to him in order, and receiving one stroke with a cane ; obstinate boys are

given more. The Angas encourage the boys to beat each other. Among some tribes these beatings are administered only when offences have been committed. The Wurkum ordeal is severe. The boys are lashed with whips, and deep incisions are made in the arms, into which the blood of the bravest men in the village is poured. The boys may play quiet games, but no rowdyism is allowed. They are taught by their fathers to cover their loins ; and among some tribes (*e.g.* the Yungur) they have to fashion their own loin-coverings from the bark of a tree. They may adopt for themselves new names, such as "Lion" or "Hippopotamus"—symbols of their re-birth. These names are dropped at the conclusion of the rites.

During the whole period of initiation the presence of the *Dodo* or tutelary genius is felt. The boys see him at a distance, and learn to fear him. His cry is heard at night. After this preliminary training the boys are ready for circumcision. And here we may mention a curious rite which is practised by the Angas and Rukuba. On the morning of circumcision the boys go through a baptismal ceremony by immersion in a stream. This custom clearly brings out the idea of the change of nature which is commonly associated with initiation ceremonies, and which is further shown by the feigned loss of their former personality when the boys return home to the village. When the Rukuba boy comes out of the water he is adorned with bracelets and other ornaments. The circumcision is now performed—generally with a knife, the subject being held from behind and in a sitting position. Among the Kugama and Vere the boys are held round the neck with a brass-bound crook. Among the Chamba they stand up holding a stick, and the operator pulls forward the foreskin with a piece of string. He first sharpens his

razor on a stone, which has been dressed with a mixture made from red clay and the dried flesh of foreskins which had been severed at the previous circumcision ceremony. The wound is bathed in hot water, and (among the Angas, Chamba, etc.), dressings of leaves or powdered roots are applied and changed morning and evening until all is healed. The Yoruba operator stops the haemorrhage by applying salt and a mixture of soap and wood-ashes. Not infrequently sepsis sets in, and the wound may take months to heal. Undoubtedly many boys die as a result of the insanitary methods of operating and dressing. The Warji told me that when this happened they informed the boy's mother that her son had been eaten by the *Dodo* ! The severed foreskins are generally buried. I have not been able to verify the reported custom of the Yoruba of making the boys swallow the ablated prepuce. Among the Jarawa the spot where the foreskin is buried is carefully noted, and if the lad should subsequently find that his sexual abilities were deficient he would return to this spot, pick up a little dust, mix it with oil, and rub the mixture on his forehead.

The period of convalescence is marked by a continuous course of instruction in religious and social duties. The Sarkin Tsafi reveals to them the customs of the past. The commandments given (*e.g.* by the Galambe) are as follows : The boys must be afraid of their fathers, who will one day become, in the spirit world, their sons' protectors ; they must listen to the conversation of the old men, associate with men, and eschew the society of women ; they must not commit adultery or steal ; telling lies in the presence of one's seniors is reprehensible. Especial stress is laid on the importance of maintaining secrecy on their return home ; for the circumcision is represented to

the women as a magical operation performed by the *Dodo*. Death was usually the penalty for breaking this command, but among the Paiemawa the defaulter's compound would be burned and his father fined by the Sarkin Tsafi. The mystification and brow-beating of the women are confessedly at the present day a main object of these secret ceremonies.

The rites are concluded by taking the lads to the shrine and showing them the sacred symbols. The novices prostrate themselves and cover their eyes. The Jukun novices were led in blindfolded ; the bandages were then suddenly removed, and the boys were asked to say what they could see. The answer was that they could see nothing at all ; and it is said that if any novice lost his self-possession and named the sacred objects he was forthwith taken out and put to death ; for a youth so lacking in discretion could not be trusted to preserve from the uninitiated the secrets which had been disclosed. After sacrifice the whole company returns home, and the young initiates take up their abode in the men's quarters. There is general rejoicing, and a feast is held. But among many tribes the boys may not speak to their mothers for varying periods. The Kagoro boy maintains this silent attitude for seven days, the Seiyawa for a whole year. The observation of this dumb attitude may be ascribed, no doubt, partly to the condition of tabu, and partly to the consciousness of having been reborn. At the end of the period of silence the boy's return to profane society is marked by a festival.

From this review we see that circumcision and initiation rites have at once a political, social, and religious character. Politically the boy is admitted to membership of the tribe ; socially he is permanently attached to his

circumcision group ; and religiously he is regenerated and affiliated with the tribal ancestor or the tutelary genius. The ethical teaching received must also be reckoned as having an important influence on morality—by which, of course, we mean conformity with the *native* code of morals. The rites of initiation have also great importance in strengthening the power of the old men.

*Female Circumcision.* Female circumcision, or the removal of the clitoris (and labia minora), is practised among some tribes, and the distribution of the custom in Nigeria is of considerable interest. We find it among the Basa, Basange, Gade, Kakanda, Mada, Shuwa, and Yoruba. It was practised by the ancient Egyptians and Copts, and is still a custom among the Arabs, Galla, Abyssinians, Mosi, Mandingoes, and natives of Kordofan. It is also a custom common among the Ijaw and the people of Benin. The operation is performed on girls between the ages of seven and fifteen—usually by an old woman (as among the Kakanda and Yoruba), or by the local barber (as among the Basange and, occasionally also, the Yoruba). The wound is dressed with butter, shea-butter, or some other soapy substance. No explanation of the rite is given, but it is believed to be an aid to chastity.

*Age Grades and Secret Societies.* Circumcision and initiation rites tend, we have seen, to divide society into well recognized groups, which are large or small according to the length of the intervals between the ceremonies. This tendency becomes crystallized into a regular system of age grades, which can readily be turned to account in all social, religious, industrial, or military undertakings.

Seniority as between the various groups is reckoned from the date of initiation. The oldest initiates are thus commonly the social and political leaders of the village,

without necessarily being the most competent men ; and this fact is one of the stumbling-blocks to European administrators. The system of age gradation appears to be more fully utilized among the Yoruba-speaking peoples than in the other communities ; it is among them also that we find the elaborate system of taking titles, and the existence of secret societies which wield legislative and judicial powers, being political, rather than religious associations. It is not contended, however, that secret societies have necessarily evolved from initiation rites. There are, in point of fact, among Nigerian natives, a variety of associations each of which we should consider as separate institutions. Thus there are numerous guilds among most of the tribes, which embody the co-operative spirit and are the repositories of trade secrets or of ancient tribal traditions. The guild of glass-workers at Bida may be cited as a case in point ; the members are pledged to observe the secrets of the craft, and to remain loyal to the guild. There are among the Malabu and other tribes hunters' guilds, to which admission can be obtained by the payment of a small fee. There are head-hunters' guilds, like those of the Idoma and Basange, to which no one may be admitted until he has obtained an enemy's head and proved that it was obtained in the correct manner. These associations tend to surround themselves with an air of mystery, to heighten which they may adopt their own paraphernalia and masks.

The head-hunters' guilds mentioned above have special uniforms by which the members are easily recognized. The members, moreover, are addressed by special titles ; and here we may see the origin of the extensive system of title-taking found among the Yoruba and their sub-tribes. Among the Igbede, for example, society is

Fig. 107. A Kanam chief (Borom tribe)
—Bauchi Province

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organized in four successive grades, to each of which a title is attached. Admission to the first (Ogun) was obtained by a young man who had killed a member of some neighbouring tribe, and had produced in proof the genital organs of his victim. The second grade was reached on the day a man buried his father in a certain costly winding-sheet. And so on. It is easy to see how in process of time the rules governing admission to such associations might become relaxed in consideration of money payments, so that the speedy transition from one title to another would depend entirely on a man's ability to pay the necessary dues. The Igbede, in point of fact, had to abandon the system of title-taking when they were conquered by the Fulani, for the latter quickly discovered that titles indicated wealth, and they accordingly levied death-duties on the estates of all who had held titles.

There are various secret associations connected—especially among the Yoruba—with the cult of the dead. The society is secret because it is religious. By secrecy the members are differentiated from those who are not members. We have seen also that the principal religious cults of the men are always surrounded by secrecy with a view to heightening the power of the members, especially the senior members, over the rest of the community. The religious institutions of the people thus—unconsciously perhaps—exert very considerable political influence, as they tend towards aristocratic government. Secret societies existing for purely political purposes are not, however, a characteristic feature of northern Nigerian society. But we find in the Ogboni Society of the Yoruba an organization which exerts an influence so widespread that it transcends even the limits of the tribe. The Ogboni are, as the word implies, the elders—capable men

and heads of important families. The rank is passed from senior to junior brother. The initiate is said to be required to drink the blood of the human victim or sacrificial animal. He is also instructed in an esoteric language and in the various magico-religious formulae of the society. This society exerted (and still exerts) great political influence, as well as legislative and judicial functions. Its executive decisions, such as the destruction of criminals, were carried out by the affiliated society known as the Oro, the masked spirit of which appeared at intervals, uttering cries in a piping voice. It is obvious that such a society, whose ultimate object is no doubt worldly prosperity, may readily abuse its powers.

*Marriage Ceremonies.* The subject of marriage in its relation to the social system has been discussed in Chapter V., and we have only a few further remarks to add here about the arrangement of marriage and the marriage ceremonial. The rites connected with both vary so greatly among the different tribes that a few typical examples only can be given.

Girls are sought in marriage from an early age, sometimes even before their birth. It is a common practice for the father of a boy to arrange with the enceinte wife of his friend that her forthcoming child, if a female, shall be betrothed at birth to his son. A young boy will occasionally make this arrangement on his own account, graciously adding that if the unborn child proves to be a boy, then he will be his lifelong friend. An expectant mother may thus be confronted with many suitors for the hand of her unborn babe.

From the very day of the girl's birth gifts may be given to the mother. Among the Warjawa and Mumbake loads of wood are given, and among the Barke the father of the

lad sends oil to the mother of the baby girl with which to anoint her navel. Among the Igbira the boy's father keeps the girl's mother supplied with food until the young people are of marriageable age. Among the Jaba the first man to see a new-born child can claim her as his wife, and the Moroa suitor bespeaks his baby fiancée by tying two cowries round her waist. When the baby girl first laughs the Mumbake fiancée gives her a string of beads, and when she can walk alone a cloth and a calabash. Constant gifts are made to the girl's family until she is of marriageable age.

The marriage generally takes place soon after the maid has attained puberty. She is usually too young to oppose her parents' wishes, and, among the Muslims in particular, opposition on the part of a young girl is not tolerated. This is in accordance with the teaching of the Malikite (and Hanifite) school. The marriage is a civil contract between the two families, and sentiment is not allowed to interfere. Women of full age, however, may only be compelled by their father to marry, provided they are still virgins. Many Muslim parents, however, notably among the Fulani, would not force on a daughter a union which was distasteful, recognizing that she would not long remain faithful in such circumstances. The maids indeed frequently choose their own suitors, and those tribes that practise *tsaranchi* [1] claim that this custom is a great safeguard against the conclusion of unhappy marriages. We have seen also that among the pagan tribes the system of capture and elopement is not so much a protest against the payment of a bride-price (for former suitors are generally compensated in full) as an assertion of the right

[1] *Tsaranchi* is a widespread Sudanic custom by which an unmarried boy and girl may spend the night in each other's company. See Vol. I., p. 188.

of the young people themselves to choose their own life-partners.

Among many tribes the boy makes his own choice and then approaches the parents with gifts. The Angas lad offers tobacco to the father of the girl, and, if the father puts it in his pipe and smokes it, the lad knows that his suit is favoured. Or the suitor may approach the girl directly. Thus the Ankwe suitor brings to the maiden a mat which encloses a cloth, and if she accepts this gift he has won his suit. The Kilba suitor also makes his advances to the girl direct. The Kanuri and Bura suitor commonly employs a friend to make the first advances, giving her father a gift of four horse-tail whisks and a hundred copper-coloured rings, besides various gifts to the girl herself. Among the Dakakari a youth may not become engaged until he has attained the age of fourteen or fifteen. He then makes his advances to the girl's mother through a female friend. If he is accepted he forthwith begins his long period of agricultural service for his prospective parents-in-law.

The Dukawa maiden announces her choice of a suitor at the wrestling-matches, which are a common feature of the life of this tribe. She scatters flour over the head of her favoured one. If her parents approve the suitor goes to live in their compound during the period of his farm service. Among the Miriam and allied tribes the preliminaries to marriage are of the most meagre kind. A few presents only are given, and the maid is then handed over to the bridegroom. Among the Munshi also there is no wedding ceremony.

The character of the bride-price varies with that of the tribe. With the Fulani it takes the form of cattle ; where brass rods are currency, as among the Benue peoples,

these are commonly given. Salt, hoes, grain, beniseed, mats, sheep, goats, horses, cowries, and nowadays English coin, are also used ; and among some tribes tobacco, and even rats, are a main part of the bride-price. Among other tribes (*e.g.* the Bata and Bachama) the building of a hut for the mother-in-law is regarded as part of the bride-price. Farm-service is also generally a main preliminary, and among some tribes (*e.g.* Kona and Tal) the sole preliminary, to marriage. The reason assigned by the Tal for the absence of a formal bride-price is that, as post-marriage elopements are common, parents are not prepared to face the difficulty of inducing the abductor to refund the robbed husband. This is rather ingenuous, for the first husband would still be entitled to compensation for his farm-service.

Among Muslims the various informal gifts to the wife's parents before marriage, which may extend over many years, are carefully distinguished from the *sadaki* (*sadaq*) or formal amount handed over immediately before the wedding. The former are recoverable if the girl repudiates the man before marriage ; but after the consummation of the marriage the *sadaki* only is recoverable, *i.e.* the informal preliminary gifts have been paid for by her virginity.

With regard to the disposal of the bride-price, those pagan tribes who follow the purchase system appropriate the amount and expend it on themselves. Many Muslims do the same. Others make a point of expending it in gifts to the bridegroom and his bride in order to avoid the appearance of selling their daughters. Buduma parents give their daughters half the number of cattle paid for her hand. Many parents, pagan and Muslim, encourage a number of suitors with a view to obtaining

as many gifts as possible. This unscrupulous practice throws a heavy burden on the suitor finally accepted, as he has to compensate the other suitors for their gifts.

The wedding-rites are marked by a festival held at the bride's home, the expenses being borne by the bridegroom. The Muslim bride is prepared by having her feet and hands stained with henna—for three days with the Hausa, and one week with the Fulani. The parents then repair to the malams' compound, and, after the necessary questions and responses, the *fatiha* is recited and pious wishes uttered for the welfare of the young couple. This constitutes the religious part of the ceremony, and the young people are not present. (It should be remembered, however, that the assistance of a priest is not required by Muslim law for the making of a marriage.) The bride is then ceremonially bathed, and in the evening is taken away privily, mounted on a horse, by the " best man " to the bridegroom's house. This may be symbolical of the right of capture. Sometimes the bride is personated by a friend, and the intention seems to be the avoidance of the evil influences that may assail one on entrance into the married state. The bride remains veiled until the conclusion of the marriage ceremony, when she is formally unveiled by her friend. This custom of veiling and unveiling the bride is also common among the pagan tribes (*e.g.* the Ankwe), and may probably be connected with the idea of the danger attendant on marriage and sexual intercourse The Chawai custom of giving a new name to the bride on her wedding-day may have a similar magical intention. Among the Kanuri the entrance to the house is sprinkled with warm salt-water to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits, and if this were not done the husband would lose his strength and his wife become barren. Feasting, music,

and dancing are kept up for several days, and at the end of this period the marriage is consummated.

Among the pagan tribes the wedding is generally marked by a feast. The religious element is usually absent, and the bridegroom takes his bride home before the conclusion of the feast. The Basa bridegroom passes reed-grass over the back of his bride, and then twists it and thrusts it into the thatch of his roof. This constitutes the marriage tie, and the reed-grass remains a witness to their union.

Among the Pindiga Jukun the central rite of the marriage ceremony is the handing over of a dog by the bridegroom's to the bride's father. The bride's aunt remains with the bride for the first two nights of her married life.

A Kagoro maid may only be married during the wet season after the seed has been sown,—a custom obviously connected with the idea of fertility. Among the Keri-Keri the bride is brought to the bridegroom's house by female friends, who address her on the duties required of a wife. Evil influences are warded off by sprinkling the threshold with flour, water, and the blood of a goat. Among the Sakpe and Mokwa Nupe the wedding ceremony lasts for a week. For the first three days the festivities are held at the bride's home, and on the fourth day she goes to her husband's house, where the feasting continues for the remainder of the week. Seven days of seclusion follow. After this the bridegroom appears in public, but the bride may not be seen until the lapse of three months.

The Angas wedding-day is signalized by the formal entry of the bride into the bridegroom's house. She then for the first time dons her garment of fibre-strings, the strands of which hang down from her waist before and behind. An old woman lights the fire for her, and on it puts a pot of water. She then takes the girl's hands and lays them

on the pot. Next morning the young girl sweeps out the house, and receives from the old woman all the domestic utensils. These acts are symbolical of her new character as mistress of the house. She then takes to her father a number of goats given her by her husband, and, with the formal handing over of these, the Angas marriage-rites are concluded. Some Angas women are tatooed on the breasts immediately before marriage—a custom found among the Sura, Ron, and Gwari (and also the Thonga of South Africa).

Among the Ankwe the bride is completely covered with a cloth, and is led off to the bridegroom's house, followed by seven or eight girls, who, concealed beneath another cloth, simulate the motions of a snake. But the marriage is not consummated for a period ranging from three to six months, and here we again seem to meet with the primitive idea of the danger accompanying sexual intercourse.

The Malabu bride lives in seclusion for a month before her marriage. She may not wear any ornaments or join in games with her friends. On the wedding-day she is ceremonially washed and her body anointed with cam-wood oil. She adorns herself with bracelets and anklets, and as many covering cloths as she has or can borrow ; a feast is held at her parents' home, and at dusk she is carried off to her husband's house on the back of her best friend.

Among the Ataka and Kagoro the consumption of a dog is the essential feature of the marriage ceremony. The bridegroom eats the head, entrails, and legs ; the neck he gives to those who helped him in his courtship, and the remainder is sent to his father-in-law. A dog is also eaten ceremonially among the Mada, but in this case by the bride's family.

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The Bolewa marriage ceremonies last for eight days. During this period the bride is attended by her female friends and the bridegroom by his male friends. The groups remain separate, and no conversation between them may be exchanged. The Bura bride lives in seclusion in her husband's house for seven days after the wedding ceremony, and it is only then that the marriage is consummated.

The Chamba marriage ceremony is a simulated capture by the bridegroom. The father pretends to demand her back. The bridegroom then sends the father gifts, and, if he accepts, a dance is held and the bride is given a new name. The Kagoma bride is also captured by six of the bridegroom's friends and taken to his house. There she is lectured by three grown-up friends on the duties incumbent on a wife.

The Gwari marriage ceremony is of a fragmentary character. Among some of the local groups the bride is merely stained in camwood dye and escorted to her husband's home. Among others her back and arms are tatooed, or a cut is made on the back of her calf to mark her change of estate. By some Gwari (*e.g.* of Kuta), however, a religious ceremony is performed, a chicken being formally sacrificed by the bride's father at the family shrine, and prayers for health and fertility addressed to the spirits of the family ancestors. The bridegroom is not present, but the bride carries back to him a portion of the sacrificial flesh. Among the Igbira it is the bridegroom who offers the sacrifice, but this is carried out at the shrine of the bride's family, the favour of whose ancestors must thus be obtained. The bridegroom may then without further ceremony carry off his bride, and her front teeth are filed to mark her change of estate.

The Margi also observe sacrificial rites on the wedding-day; the bridegroom ceremonially killing two goats, which he presents to the bride's family. The Mumbake bridegroom slays a sheep or bull, and the Tangale bridegroom offers a goat through the priest that the god may cause the marriage to be fruitful. The Jera or Tera bridegroom presents the priest of Shellin with the beard of a bull. He then throws two cloths into the bride's house, and finally takes her to his home.

It would appear that among some tribes, *e.g.* where the bride is suddenly snatched away, there is no real wedding ceremonial, unless we are to regard this snatching as constituting a ceremony in itself. Where a bride-price is not paid, as *e.g.* among the Gade, there is no wedding ceremony. In the Gade town of Kujeh a dower is paid, and the wedding ceremony is signalized by the bridegroom formally shaving the head of his bride.

Among the pagan Fulani there is no ceremony on the day the bride first goes to the bridegroom's house; and among the Baushi the postponement of the wedding-feast until the birth of the first child suggests that the previous cohabitation is of the nature of a trial marriage. The same custom is found among the Hona. Among the Mbula there is also no formal wedding ceremony. The bridegroom asks his bride to brew him some beer and bring it to his farm on an appointed day. His friends are assembled with him there, and prevent her returning home.

Formal wedding ceremonies are also generally absent in cases of marriage by exchange.

*Avoidance Customs.* Before leaving the subject of marriage a few remarks may be made on the avoidance customs connected with marriage. Avoidance of fiancées is

common, and the reason assigned is that familiarity breeds contempt. The Fulani studiously avoid meeting both their betrothed and the parents of their betrothed. This is a token of respect. Nupe and Beri-Beri lads would not join in any games in which their fiancées were taking part. Young girls would withdraw if they saw their betrothed approaching. Again, married couples avoid the use of each other's personal names, whether in their presence or absence. Reference is made to them by some such periphrasis as "some one." This rule does not, however, apply with the same rigour when a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife. The avoidance of parents-in-law is also general. A man who sees his mother-in-law coming to greet his wife immediately retires. If he met her accidentally he would salute her, but would not look her in the face. A Mumuye who saw his mother-in-law coming along the road would immediately leave the path at a run. A father coming to greet his married son would not enter the house, owing to the presence of his son's wife, but would address him from without. Only in case of the son's severe illness would a father enter his son's house. Children-in-law will not eat with parents-in-law. If a Dakakari saw his parents-in-law coming along the road he would retire into the bush until they had passed. In no circumstances would he eat food with them, and if they visited his house to see their sick daughter he would immediately withdraw from the compound.

There are many exceptions, however, to these general rules. We have seen, for example, that many tribes practise *tsaranchi*,[1] a custom which allows the greatest freedom between young people who are betrothed.

[1] See Vol. I., p. 188.

### *Death and Burial Customs: Muslim*

The Muslim burial rites vary little throughout the world, and in Nigeria all Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri, Yoruba, Nupe, etc., who are followers of the Prophet, observe generally the same burial ritual, both for men and women. The death of a man or woman is marked by wailing on the part of the women and children, and, in the case of a distinguished person, of the men also, and a recital by all of the praises of the deceased. Both these practices are contrary to the Prophet's commands. If the death occurs in the early part of the day the body is buried within an hour or two. This is considered desirable, as the corpse decomposes quickly in the tropical heat ; but the dread of having a dead body in the house over-night is a more compelling consideration, and when any one dies late in the evening and his body has to remain in the house until next morning, malams guard it, and keep up a flow of prayers, with the object of warding off evil influences.

Immediately on death, if the deceased is a male, a malam is summoned to wash and prepare the body ; if a female, her husband or an old woman performs this duty. The hands are stained with henna and the corpse is robed in a white garment. The feet are bound, but the jaw is not bound (as in most other Muslim countries). More important men would wear their turban and gown in death, the whole face being covered. Frankincense is burned over the body. There is no religious ceremony at the mosque, but, before the body is removed to the grave, the company perform the ritual ablutions, and the malams recite the *fatiha*.

The dead person's grave is usually inside the compound, in the open space at the back of the dwelling-house ; but

Fig. 108. A sword dance (Ningi tribe)—Bauchi Province

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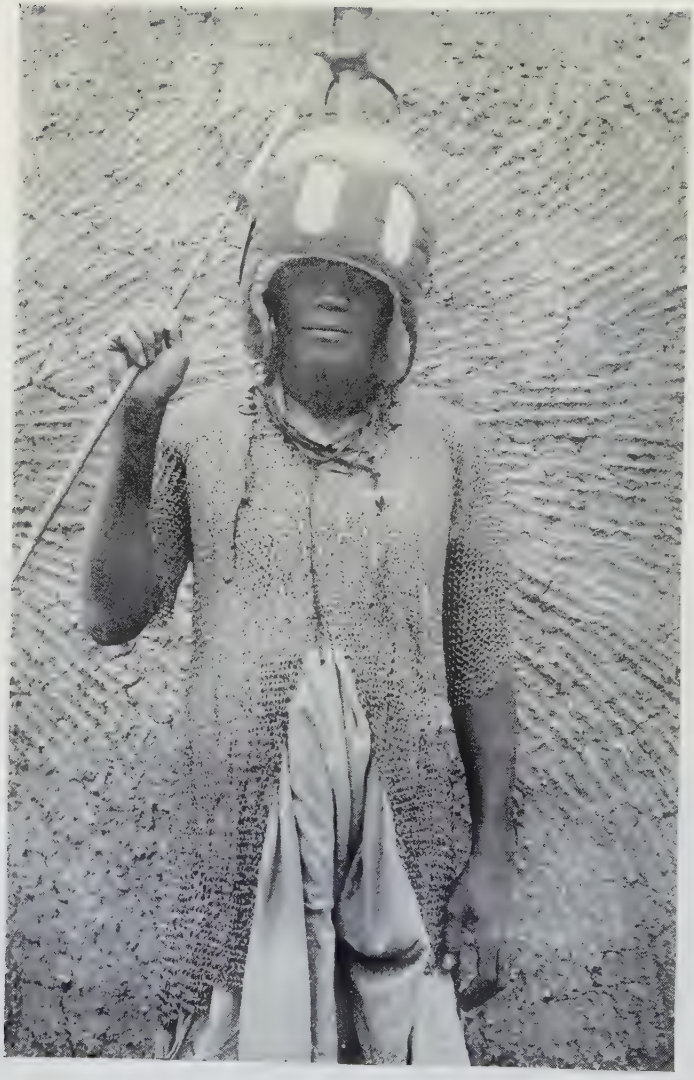

Fig. 109. Chain mail—Kano Province

Fig. 110. An old Hausa grave—Kano Province

a person of rank would have a dwelling specially reserved for his interment. In large towns there is generally a common burial-ground. The shape of the grave is a rectangle, three feet deep, with a central groove, one foot deep, inset. (The more common Muslim practice of cutting the groove under one of the sides of the rectangle is hardly ever followed. Nor does one ever see in Nigeria the arched tombs used in the more civilized Muslim countries.)

Graves are not made to hold more than one body. The body is laid to rest head to south and feet to north, with the face, supported by the right hand, pointing east towards Mecca. As the body is consigned to the grave the mourners utter some pious phrase. After it has been placed in position the outer covering sack is removed. The grave is then covered with segments of pots, or with a roof of sticks. If pots are used, the insides are first cleaned, and the segments are fitted closely to one another, so as to close completely the inner groove. The pots are finally covered over with a plaster of soft mud. If pots are not used, the roof of sticks is covered over with leaves or a mat, and finally with a layer of mud. The grave is then filled up, rising to a mound one foot above the surface. The mound is sprinkled over with water to prevent it being eaten away by the wind. The mourners then go down on their haunches and formally recite a *fatiha*. This concludes the ceremony. Women take no part in these rites. Men show no signs of mourning in their dress, but women bind their heads in a cloth. A widow remains in strict seclusion for five months ; she performs her ablutions with scrupulous care, and with Koranic charms protects herself from any evil that might come from the dead man's spirit. A concubine mourns for her deceased

lord forty days. On the seventh and fortieth days after death prayers are offered by the malams, and alms given to them and to the poor in memory of the deceased ; but the funeral feastings common among the pagans, though by no means unknown among the Muslims, are regarded with much disfavour by the stricter followers of the Prophet.

### *Death and Burial Customs : Pagan Tribes*

The burial customs of the pagan tribes will be described with considerable detail, for not only do they reveal much of the religious conceptions of the people, but they also reveal inter-tribal connection, and suggest the direction of the stream of ethnic movement. We shall be careful, however, not to build too much on similarities of customs, for it will be found that not only have tribes, within the memory of living men, abandoned their ancient mode of burial and adopted that of their neighbours, but also that some sections of a tribe follow one custom and others quite a different custom. Further, we shall see that chiefs are frequently buried in a different position from that of the ordinary people. From this circumstance two opposite conclusions may be drawn : (*a*) that the chief belongs to a conquering foreign caste, or (*b*) that the custom followed in the case of the chief represents the most ancient custom of the tribe ; the people may change their custom by degrees without inviting any occult injury, but if the chief departs from the ancient custom disaster would overtake the whole community. We have seen the same idea as regards circumcision among the Yergum—the chief alone among the members of the tribe remains uncircumcised, for if he were to circumcise the crop would be destroyed by blight.

*The Announcement of Death.* A death is announced by

the wailing of women and children, by the firing of guns (Yoruba, Igbira, Idoma, Igbede, Aworo, etc.), or of arrows (Yergum), by the blowing of horns (Kagoro, Kaje, etc.), or the sounding of gongs and cymbals (Koton-Karifi Igbira). These rites have for their object the driving away of the evil spirits that have snatched the dead man's soul, but they are also a signal to the deceased's kin to come and join in the funeral ceremony. The women mourners, amidst their wails, address their dead friend, saying: "Why, oh why, have you left us thus alone and desolate? What am I to do now without your help and comradeship?" (Bachama). Sometimes the men also join in the lamentation (Zumper); but sometimes, as on the death of an old person, there is no lamentation at all (Butawa).

Deaths are frequently concealed—notably among the Yoruba—to give the relatives time to collect the wherewithal for the expensive funeral rites. The death of a chief is also commonly concealed so as to give time for the appointment of a successor. The Jukun thus postponed announcement for a year, explaining the non-appearance of the chief by saying that he was ill (and it is said of Kishra,[1] the traditional leader of many of the non-Muslim tribes, that his death was not revealed for a year and a day). Further, among the Jukun, the death of the chief (or of his head counsellor) when finally announced was given out in metaphor. It was proclaimed that the chief had handed over the government to his successor and was going on a long journey.[2] This fiction

[1] See Vol. I., p. 72.

[2] Cf. Johnson's *History of the Yorubas*, pp. 37 and 46: "Deified heroes and heroines are never spoken of as dead, but as having disappeared." The death of the Alafin of Oyo—the most sacred of the Yoruba chiefs—was formally announced by the public declaration of his successor that "he has entered into the vault of the skies."

was maintained throughout the funeral rites. The dead chief, with his beard fully trimmed, and in all his robes, was set on a horse, and supported there by the two heads of the religious cult. In his right hand some guinea-corn was placed, and in his left he carried a gourd of water. All the people assembled to bid their chief farewell, and, as the horse moved on, a wail went up, and all besought him not to leave them thus bereft of corn and water. The dead man's hands were therefore made to discharge their contents in the direction of his people. A spokesman then bade him a final farewell, and the procession moved on to the burial-ground.

We shall find among other tribes ceremonies based on a similar fiction. The Waja, for example, offer a meal to the deceased. Where burial is postponed the dead man's friends will often sleep in his hut to keep him company. Dr. Bronnum told me that Bachama women, for this reason, commonly sleep alongside the corpse of their dead friend. Among the Berom we find a similar denial of death. On the death of a man his sister immediately dons his clothes, walks to his favourite resorts, and imitates his favourite pursuits. These examples are very striking, for among primitive peoples death usually induces a state of tabu which makes it dangerous to touch a corpse or to handle the dead man's belongings.

*The Investigation.* The death of an old man is regarded as a normal event, but the death of one who has not attained old age is supernormal and calls for explanation. Thus the Yoruba summon the priest (*Babalawi*) to smell out the witch who has brought death amongst them. The Nupe (Bini) diviner produces his strings of red berries, and, after sprinkling them with the blood of a chicken, kola-juice, and beer, can detect by the fall of the berries

the cause of death. The Idoma have a similar custom, and the villagers clear themselves of complicity in the dead man's death by drinking the oath draught, and calling down death on themselves if they have lied. At the Jukun graveside the priest takes a little dust in a calabash, and as he sprinkles it over the grave he says : " If it was I who killed you, then may I also die within seven days. But if I have not compassed your death, then I pray you to pass on to your forefathers, and leave us here in peace." During the period of mourning, also, the dead man's full brother also takes a similar oath as he pours libations of beer on the dead man's grave. He says to the departed spirit : " If I have withheld guinea-corn from you, then may you also withhold it from me. But if not, then go on your way to our father and mother and find them in safety."

Among the Kamberi the friends of the deceased carry the corpse abroad, believing that it will guide their feet to the house of the murderer. The parading of the corpse by the Yoruba may have a similar intention. Among the Angas the investigation is postponed until the fourth day after burial, and the verdict of the diviner usually is that the dead man's death was due to his own neglect—he had failed to appease with libations and sacrifice the spirits of his dead forefathers.

*The Sacrifice.* Among many tribes the occurrence of death is immediately followed by sacrifice. This is designed to purge away the taint of death, to provide the dead man with a farewell meal, and to establish a sacramental union between him and his family. The Yoruba priest slays a sheep, goat, or chicken, and sprinkles the corpse, room, and mourners with a decoction of shea-butter and snails. He then addresses the corpse, and

bids the dead man leave them as soon as the rites have been performed. The Waja offer to the deceased a sacrificial meal consisting of pieces of a goat's, dog's, and chicken's flesh, mingled with some special salt. The corpse sits upright in their midst, and is made to go through the movements of conveying the food to his mouth. The assembled relatives then step over the corpse—a custom which is also found among the Jukun and other neighbouring tribes. Among the Chawai, Irigwe, and Angas goats are slain in the house where the dead man lies, and the blood is sprinkled at the entrance (Chawai and Irigwe), or allowed to flow into the room (Angas).

The flesh of the sacrifice is among all the tribes eaten ceremonially by the friends and relatives of the deceased, but a dead man's widows would not partake (Berom), nor would a bereaved mother or father (Jarawa). Among the Paiemawa the sacrificial meal is consumed, not by the dead man's relatives, but by members of neighbouring wards.

The Baushi sacrifice a goat, fowl, and chickens (though the poorer Baushi offer a dog and cock). The Kamuku allow the blood of a red cock to drip on the body. The Kengawa offer a black bull and red cock, a black goat and black fowl, or a red goat and white fowl. For chiefs bullocks are commonly sacrificed (Gwari, Jarawa, Butawa, Igbira, etc.). The Kagoro now offer a goat or fowl, but formerly sacrificed human beings. We have already noted that human sacrifices were common also among other tribes.

The sacrifice may follow the burial, but it generally precedes, the skin of the sacrificial animal being commonly used as the dead man's shroud, and the flesh being consumed after the burial.

Fig. 111. An old man of Kanam, Borom tribe —Bauchi Province

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*Denial of Rites.* Every dead person is entitled to a ceremonial burial in order that his soul may be finally dismissed to join the company of his forefathers, and that his living relatives may be cleansed from the pollution of death. There are exceptions, however. The Afo and Gana-Gana have no burial-rites for a commoner, nor have the Chamba and Dakakari for a child; the Bolewa, Igbira, Nupe, and Jukun for suicides; the Idoma for consumptives; the Kugama and Munshi for those suspected of witchcraft (the test of which is the rapidity of decomposition after death). In the Aliyaru district of Borgu burial was not accorded to a hunchback. His body was sealed in a pot, which was thrown into the river or placed in the branches of a tree far out in the "bush." The Chamba give full burial rites to a slave, but his head is left protruding from the grave.

The Baushi have no ceremonies except for old people of rank; the Kuta Gwari have none for women who die from abortion or in child-birth, for stillborn children, and those who die of smallpox or malignant disease. Scant respect is shown by the Berom to one who had died without bearing a child, for such a one had a spirit too feeble to resent neglect.

The Jarawa threw dead criminals into the bush (but it is suggested that there was an exchange of such bodies between the Dugurawa and themselves, both being cannibals—but not as regards their own people). The cannibal Angas villagers exchanged their dying old men—a custom connected with animistic ideas, as the skull of the man eaten was immediately returned to his relatives to become an object of adoration. The bodies of lepers and those who die of smallpox are commonly thrown into the bush. The fear of being infected by the corpse is no

doubt a reason for this, for we find among the Jarawa that the burial of persons who have died from smallpox is left to those who have already had this disease and are immune.

Among the Waja, in former times, no one would bury a man who had not killed one of his Tula neighbours. In this tribe also the ordinary rites are denied to persons who have died from snakebite, lightning, smallpox, or fire. No mat is spread for them in the grave, no shroud is provided, and the task of burying them is left to strangers and hirelings.

The denial of burial-rites no doubt has some connection with the belief in re-incarnation, and is designed to deter the spirits of these unfortunate people from seeking re-admission to the world.

*Class Distinctions.* Most tribes distinguish by special ceremonies, or the omission of ceremonies, between a chief, a commoner, or a slave. In the case of chiefs, the rites are more elaborate than in the case of commoners, and the burial is therefore postponed sometimes for several days, and often for months, or even a year. The site of burial and the position of the body in the grave are also different. Old men, again, are accorded special rites as compared with younger, for the death of a young person is a calamity due to some evil spirit, whereas the death of an old man is an occasion for rejoicing ; he has successfully warded off evil, and can now take his place among the company of ancestors and become a powerful protector of the children he has left behind.

The Bede accord special rites to warriors, the Waja to a twin, the Yoruba to hunters, and among the Babur and Waja blacksmiths are honoured by the same rites as are given to chiefs. Further, among many tribes sex dis-

tinctions are observed as regards the position of the body in the grave, females facing the opposite direction to males. Among the Vere, women must be buried by their own families in their old homes—a survival, no doubt, of mother-right.

*Date of Burial.* Most tribes bury their dead a few hours after death, the corpse being kept no longer than it takes to make the grave. If the death occurs at night the burial is postponed to the following morning, but if there is a full moon the body may be consigned to the grave at once (Ankwe). The bodies of chiefs and important men are kept longer. The Berom and Bata bury a man of importance two days after death, the Basange four, the Gwari several days after. The body of the Igara chief was buried after a very long interval, as a representative of each of the four royal families had to remain uninterred. The Kugama keep the body for thirty-six hours to see if it swells, for should it do so the deceased was a wizard and his familiar is attempting to escape. The Yoruba and Igbira parade the dead man's body and insignia from ward to ward, and even from village to village, before finally consigning it to the grave.

*Preservation of the Body.* Preservation of the body by fumigation, a custom common in South Africa, is practised by the Arago, Aworo, Bede, Bunu, Gwari (Kuta), Igara, Igbira, Igbede, Owe, and Yagba. (In the Southern Provinces, also by the people of Benin.) The body of a dead Arago chief is smeared with grease and smoked for a month before it is buried. The Bede treat dead bodies with an antiseptic decoction, but the bodies are buried after ten days. The Gwari sometimes preserve the body for a few days by laying it between two large fires, the limbs being massaged to prevent stiffening. The Jukun

and Igara formerly preserved the bodies of their chiefs by fumigation, the entrails being removed ; and in Daura, Gobir, and Katsina, the body of the chief, who was ceremonially killed, was smoked over a fire for seven days.

The Igbira mummify the body by pouring in gin or beer. They then subject it to fumigation, and in this way it is preserved for as long as two years. The custom of mummification by the use of beer is not unknown in Uganda, and it is also worth noting here that the Songhai appear to have embalmed the bodies of their chiefs. The author of the Tarikh-es-Sudan records how on the death, in 1492, of Sunni Ali, the Kharijite King of Songhai, "His sons opened his stomach, removed the entrails, and filled the cavity with honey, to prevent putrefaction."

The preservation of bodies in Nigeria would seem to be less connected with the cult of the dead than a convenient means of gaining time for making the funeral arrangements and summoning relatives from distant villages. It is noteworthy that the tribes which practise preservation are also those which observe the most elaborate funeral rites, decking the corpse in costly robes,[1] and depositing valuable property in the grave. It is often necessary therefore to defer burial until the means necessary for doing full honour to the dead have been amassed. The custom of preservation seems to be dying out. Many Igbira have given it up, and the Igbede have abandoned the practice entirely.

*Preparation of the Body.* The women prepare the body while the men are digging the grave. The body is washed with water, with rum, or a decoction of herbs, by the Yoruba, and with a mixture of water and beer by the

[1] It is common in the Kabba division for comparatively poor men to expend from £20 to £30 in the purchase of an embroidered winding-sheet.

Fig. 112. A Jen youth—Muri Province

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Berom. The Yungur and Jaba anoint it with oil, and the Tangale with grease—not with a view to preservation, but to prevent stiffening (an object which is also attained by the custom of friends warming their hands and placing them on the corpse).

The Basange take the body behind the house and stain it red. So do the Dakakari, some Moroa, the Jaba, and the Yoruba (in the case of a woman). The Berom smear the corpse with oil and red earth. The Ayu paint the eyes with sulphide of lead, and in the case of a woman smear the mouth with honey. The Kilba and Vere peel the skins off their dead and preserve them in pots.[1]

The head is shaved and the orifices are closed with cotton (Jukun and Jarawa). The Tangale tie a string round the head to close the mouth, with the intention perhaps of preventing the escape of the dead man's soul.

Among the tribes who wear clothes the deceased is arrayed in his customary attire. The Jukun cover the body with a shroud of black or white cloth, adorning the arms with metal bracelets and the neck with necklets of red and black thread. The Baushi add a leather apron to the ordinary clothes, and strips of white cloth on the head. The Margi give a rich man several gowns, and to the poor a jaw-cloth. The Kengawa place monkey-skins round the loins. An Ayu woman is dressed in trousers ; a string of red, white, and blue stones is tied round her neck, and her second and third fingers are adorned with rings of brass. The richly embroidered quilt of the Yoruba which is used as a winding-sheet has already been mentioned.[2]

Chiefs are elaborately clothed. The Jukun chief is buried in all his robes, and kola-nuts and scent are placed

[1] The Igara are said to use human skin for making drums.

[2] See footnote on previous page.

in his lap. The dead chief of the Awok is clothed in seven gowns ; and a chief of the Yergum in a white cap and a white raiment, wound tightly round the body after the manner of the mummies of Egypt.

The more primitive tribes bury their dead naked, or covered with skins or mats.[1] The dead commoners of the Tangale, Tula, Kushi, Pero, etc., wear nothing at all save (in the case of old men) metal bracelets on their arms. Important men among the Berom are buried with bracelets on the arms and iron greaves on the legs. In this tribe, too, it is the custom to sew up the corpse of a parent in the skins of two or three goats freshly slain for the purpose. The corpses of the more important men are sewn up in a bullock's or horse's skin, and, in the case of a chief, a horse's skin is also put into the grave as a ground-sheet. The Berom wrap a ram's skin round the waist of their dead men, the women being buried in their girdles of leaves. The Kagoro, Kaje, and Moroa wrap their dead in mats ; the Hona in cattle-skins ; the Chawai, Jarawa, and other Plateau tribes in the skins of goats. The Zul used to bury their dead men in skins, but now bind up the corpse in strips of cloth. The women, however, are still buried in their pristine costume of leaves. The Teria sew up their dead in mats, but the face is wrapped in an undressed goat's skin. Among those people who wear the penis-sheath the sheath is usually removed before the body is laid in the grave.

*Location of Graves.* The grave may be within the hut, within the compound, at the door of the compound, just outside the village, or right away in the bush. Chiefs of all tribes are generally buried in their own or specially

[1] Burial in skins is common all over Africa, from the Libyan desert to Rhodesia.

constructed huts. But hut-burial is common for all among the Yoruba, Ayu, Bata and Bachama, Irigwe, Bunu, Aworo, Igbira, Owe, Igbede, Kamberi, some Moroa, Ngizim, some Kengawa, and the Mada.

The tombs become the family shrines, and over them one sees pots of liquid offerings to the dead lying below—an insanitary custom, as these pots are a favourite breeding ground for mosquitoes. Other tribes[1] bury their dead inside, or just outside, the compound—but not in their dwelling-huts.

Dadiya chiefs are buried in front of their houses, where they used to sit and judge the people. Chawai chiefs are buried in a vault below the floor of the hut. A Kagoro, if a father, is buried just outside the porch of his compound. The Anaguta have a common burial-ground for all inside the village boundary. Among the Gwari old people are buried close to the compound door, but the bodies of young people must be buried outside the confines of the village. Among the Paiemawa only important old men may be buried inside the compound—all others must be buried outside. Among the Jarawa all important men are buried under specially constructed huts within the compound.

On the other hand, burial may take place outside the village, as in the case of the Chamba, Jarawa, Dadiya, Munshi, and Vere commoner, the Kagoro who is not a father, and the Yergum who dies of snake-bite. Lepers and those who die of smallpox are also commonly buried in the bush. The Kamuku clans bury their dead on the slopes or tops of hills. Sometimes there is some special

[1] Butawa, Keri-Keri, Kilba (usually), Kamu, some Kengawa, Chawai, Kagoro, Koro, Kushi, Jukun, Miriam, Moroa, Tula, Awok, Bolewa, Tangale, Tera, Longuda, Chum, Mumuye, Ron, Busawa, Baushi, Gwari, and Maguzawa.

site, such as the sacred hill of the Hona, or the cave of Duri, which is the vault of the Yergum chiefs.

It remains to note that if a man dies at a distance from his village he is buried where he dies, but among some tribes (*e.g.* the Kengawa) a calabash of earth is taken from the grave and sent back to the dead man's home. An Igbira is, however, generally carried back for burial to his own village.

*Communal Graves.* Individual graves are usual, but among many of the tribes [1] graves are communal. Mada graves will contain ten bodies, and a vault at Pongo (Baushi), it is said, as many as one hundred.

Among other tribes, again, there are family graves which are used over and over again at intervals. Thus among the Ganawuri, Chamba, Koro, and Ankwe the body of the first occupant of the grave is given a year or so to decompose. The grave is then considered fresh for the use of another corpse, and when required for this purpose the bones of the former occupant are removed and buried in a separate corner of the vault (or in a separate grave). A family may in this way use three or four different vaults.

*The Grave.* The grave is prepared by the young men of the village. But some tribes (*e.g.* Hona, Basa, and Igbira) have professional grave-diggers. (The Igbira grave-diggers have a magic remedy for rendering the ground soft.) Among the Kilba the grave is made by the village blacksmith. The Berom dig their graves with sticks, the use of iron on such an occasion being tabu.[2]

Graves are of two main types: (*a*) rectangular and (*b*) shaft and tunnel.

[1] Ayu, Butawa, Dakakari, Kudawa, Mumuye, Basa, Baushi, Basange, and Mada.

[2] M. Junod records that no iron must be put into the grave of a Thonga of South Africa.

Rectangular graves are of the kind already described as used by the Muslim peoples. Many of the pagan tribes have adopted this type of easily-made grave, but in the burial of their chief they adhere usually to the more ancient form of shaft and tunnel. Thus the Yergum, Tula, and Bolewa commoners are buried in rectangular, but their chiefs in shaft and tunnel graves. The Zul, Maguzawa, Ringim, Galambe, Barawa, Denu, some Munshi, Mumuye, and Waka, also use graves of rectangular shape. The Afawa do the same, but state that this custom is a recent one, and that formerly they buried their dead in a right-angled hollow, the top side of the triangle being formed with sticks and a coating of mud after the body had been laid in position. This type of grave is still used by the Bini (Nupe).

The commonest type of pagan grave is the shaft and tunnel, shaped in section thus (showing a single recess). The grave may have more than one tunnel. The following is a rough plan of a Koro tomb with three lateral extensions.

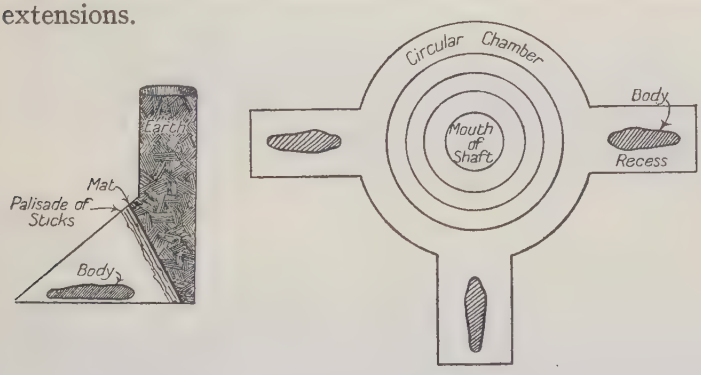


Fig. 113. Shaft and tunnel graves.

The shaft is carried down three or four feet, and broadens out gradually towards the base. The recess for the body

is then scooped out. A man standing inside the circular chamber receives the body as it is lowered through the shaft, and places it in the recess, which is then closed up with a palisade of sticks covered over with a mat; or the mouth of the recess may be blocked simply with a large flat stone. The shaft itself may be filled up with earth, or the mouth only may be blocked with a view to the subsequent passing down of food and drink to the dead man. Indeed, one of the underlying ideas in the shaft and tunnel grave would appear to be that the departed spirit is enabled to keep up intercourse with the dead body, using the shaft as a means of entrance and egress. But a Munshi expressed to me the opinion that the main object of the shaft and tunnel grave was to conceal as much as possible the site of burial, and so prevent carnivorous animals and cannibal men from digging up the corpse and eating it.

Great care is taken that no earth falls on the corpse, which is generally protected by mats, segments of pots, or a covering of sticks. Sometimes also, for the same reason, the walls of the grave are cemented with mud (Jukun), or lined with stone (Kuta Gwari, Dakakari), or strips of dark cloth (Kamberi). Wooden ceilings are occasionally made (Tangale).

On the outside of the grave most of the tribes erect thatched shelters over the graves of chiefs. Chawai graves are enclosed with a circular mud-wall, one foot high, and having a thatched roof. Among the Miriam and allied tribes temporary shelters are built to protect the offerings which are made to the dead immediately after death. The Dakakari mark the grave by mounds, with elaborate symbols typifying the pursuits of the occupant (such as wrestling or hunting). The grave of

Fig. 114. Monolith marking grave of a Jaba chief—Nasarawa Province

*From negative kindly lent by Mr. T. Allan*

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the chief is marked by models of a woman, a slave, or horse (a reflection, no doubt, of a more ancient custom of burying these alive). The Tangale indicate the grave of a hunter by the horns of the animals he has killed. Among the Borok a grave is marked by a hoe. The Munshi raise small circular mounds over their dead, and the bed of the deceased is placed on the top like a tombstone.

The head of the shaft is, among most tribes, blocked by a flat stone, which is often cemented over with mud. The Baushi make cowrie patterns on this mud covering. The Lungu surround the head of the shaft with upright stones, which are smeared twice a year with a mixture of guinea-corn and water.

Stone circles mark graves among the Jukun (chiefs), Gwari, and Pe (and it is to be noted that this is a common custom in the French Sudan). Monoliths mark the graves of important men of the Jaba, Tangale, Butawa, and Chamba tribes. Among the Warjawa the sex of the occupant of a grave is indicated by placing an upright stone over the grave of a man, and an inverted pot over that of a woman. Among some other tribes, pots mark the graves both of men and women, and are used as receptacles for libations to the dead. The bottoms are sometimes knocked out to allow the offerings to flow away (Rebinawa). Among the Angas two pots are used, the upper, turned upside down, serving as a lid for the lower.

*Inhumation.* The body is carried to the grave on the shoulders of young men, on a mat, on a plank, or on a bier made of guinea corn-stalks. The corpses of Jukun chiefs and Kukuruku are placed in canoe-shaped coffins, a custom which recalls the funerary boats of ancient Egypt. The Kamuku bury their dead in pots, the Pero

in large baskets split down the centre and opened out. The women wail as the corpse is borne away, and, among the Tangale, they go ahead to the grave and throw themselves about in a state of hysteria. Tangale widows must, at the graveside, cross the body of their dead husband three times, and they wear special girdles of locust-bean leaves to ward off the defilement of death. Among the Yoruba the funeral party throws cowries to the crowd.

The body is usually placed in the grave either in the sitting or in the pre-natal or embryonic position. The *sitting position* is the usual one for chiefs. The Jukun chiefs of Pindiga are buried in this way, with their legs straight out in front. They are dressed in all their finery, and kola-nuts and bottles are placed in their hands. They face the east [1] and lean against a cushion. This has been the custom for the last hundred years, but it is stated that in more ancient days the chief was buried in a grave lined with charcoal in a reclining position, the head being supported in a forked branch. The ancient kings of Gobir, Daura, and Katsina (and also of Benin) were buried in a sitting position, and the chiefs of the Jen and Gwari are to-day so buried, the latter dressed in a gown and holding a pipe in his right hand. A pipe is put in the mouth of the Angas chief, who is also buried in a sitting position.

Tera chiefs and blacksmiths are buried sitting on a large stone, with the throat, nape of the neck, and shoulders supported by tongs. Waja and Babur chiefs and blacksmiths are similarly buried, sitting in charcoal up to the neck (a custom which Mr. Roscoe found among the

[1] Among most tribes males are buried with the head turned to the east. But among some tribes the head looks towards the local sacred grove, or the deceased's ancestral home.

Bunyoro). The Barawa and Berom bury in the sitting position with the legs stretched straight; the Bobar (formerly), Hill Angas and Jarawa, Ningi, and Seiyawa, in the sitting position with knees flexed. Among the Seiyawa the head is supported by a forked branch, among the Angas it rests on the hands. The Paiemawa adopt a squatting position, with hands resting on side and back against the wall of the grave. Other tribes which bury in the sitting position are the Pe, Ngamo, Kengawa, some Butawa, some Kilba, Baushi, Tal, some Munshi, and Kamuku, the last-mentioned being buried sitting in a large pot covered with a second pot inverted.

The Vere bury their dead in an upright position, the head being secured by stones and covered with a pot. The Tangale (and Angas) break the bones at the knees, elbows, and neck to facilitate, it is said, the lowering of the body through the grave-shaft. It is interesting to note that this is a practice followed by some South African tribes (the Ba Chuana break the backbone, and the Basuto sever the sinews).

The *embryonic position* is even more widely distributed than the sitting. To name only a few tribes, it is found among the Jukun (for commoners), Afawa, Ganawuri, Rukuba, Berom, Sura, Kudawa, Munshi, and Yergum, and indeed among most of the pagan tribes who have not already been mentioned as favouring the sitting position. The side on which the body lies varies. Jukun, Bachama, Chamba, Afawa, Warjawa, Butawa, Gwari, Kagoro, and Kudawa males, for example, are put into the grave lying on the right side (with knees drawn up), whereas the Rukuba, Ganawuri, Yergum, Munshi, Hona, Keri-Keri, Waja, Longuda, some Dakakari, and Berom lie on the left side.

The position for females is generally the opposite of that for males. The hand corresponding to the position assumed is placed under the head. The disengaged hand usually lies along the thigh, but among the Munshi and Yergum it is raised in the air—the strong right arm that dealt blows in life must not be allowed to rest, for, if it were, it would lose its power when the man's spirit was re-incarnated.

The *extended recumbent position* appears to be in use among some tribes. Some Dakakari lay the corpse flat on the back, and this seems to have been the position given by the pagan Fulani, the extended hands being enclosed between the knees.

We may conclude this section by noting the custom of some tribes (*e.g.* the Tangale) of removing the foetus from the body of a deceased enceinte woman and burying it by her side. This saves the woman, it is thought, from the pains of child-birth when she is re-born.

*Funerary Property and Food.* Among most tribes some, at least, of the dead man's most treasured possessions are laid beside him in the grave. Thus the Ngamo place beside a man his clothes and weapons; beside a woman her clothes and ornaments. Clothes, cowries, and sometimes a calabash and drinking-cup, are placed in the grave by the Idoma, and a bed by the Jaba, Kamu, and Igara. The Kugama heap corn on the corpse, and the Yergum put flour and cowries in the right hand of their chiefs. Sprigs of the locust-tree are put under the cap of the dead Kamu chief, and a hoe under the head of a Tula chief. A gourd of beer is buried with the Tera, and of water with the Jera —a small drinking-cup being attached by a string to the gourd. Among the Longuda a spear, hoe, axe, and knife are buried with the dead, and pieces of meat are also

attached to the dead man's arms. Women are given a hoe, an axe, a calabash, and a bunch of fibre with which to tie up wood in the underworld.

Among the Chum a piece of cow's liver is perforated and attached to the dead chief's arm. The Berom of Rop place a cow's skin by the dead chief's hand. The Gwari bury property, and smooth over the top of the grave to conceal its presence. Among the Igbede, Aworo, Bunu, Igbira, Igara, and Owe precious stones, jewellery, and even money, were buried with the dead. Lander once met an ex-chief of Idda whose father, the Ata, had been so rich that it was said his cowries filled three huts. When the old man died these were all buried with him, and his son, soon finding himself in straitened circumstances, had them dug up and put into circulation. The son rested his claim to do this on the ground of his father's greed in desiring *all* (not a part only) of his wealth to be buried with him. The young man's desecration resulted in his being deposed by the people.

The Igbira used to smear the feet of the dead with the blood of a goat, and the goat's heart was placed in the dead man's right hand.

Among many tribes the favourite wife was placed, alive or dead, in the tomb of her dead husband. This was the custom among the Igbede and other Yoruba tribes, and the first wife of an Arago, Jukun, or Chamba chief was on her husband's death stunned with a club, her neck wrung, and the body placed in the tomb beside that of her husband. The Arago chief's favourite child and horse were also buried with him, together with half his possessions. The favourite slave of the Chamba chief was killed to accompany his master, and the favourite slave of the Jukun chief of Ankpa had his legs broken and was placed

alive in his owner's tomb. This was the custom also among the Idoma, who buried alive with the chief two of his slaves, one at the deceased's head and one at his feet. In the same tribe also, even when a commoner died, it was the custom to sacrifice one or more of his slaves, and this was the general custom also among the Igbede, Igbira, Basa, Bunu, Aworo, and Owe. The sacrifice of wives was common among the Igbira and Yoruba, and Lander describes how two wives of a lately deceased chief hid themselves in order to avoid being clubbed to death. One was discovered and forced to drink poison, which very soon killed her. Two years ago when I visited Agbaja, the Olu of Aworo came to see me before my departure. He said he was getting an old man, and asked if the funerary honours which had been paid to his predecessor would be allowed in his case also when he died. His predecessor, Ajetto, died in 1895, and to mark the importance of the event about twenty slaves were immolated. Some of his wives were also slaughtered, and others were buried alive with their husband. Several little boys and girls were entombed (to fetch water and light the old man's pipe), and the cries of these little ones were heard three or four days after. Precious stones and other treasures of the dead chief were buried with him, and six cases of gin to slake the old man's thirst. So many good things, in fact, were put into the grave that a constant guard has had to be kept there ever since.

The object of these rites is no doubt to provide for the dead man's comfort and dignity in the next world. Some Barke added that in this way the dead man's soul was deprived of any excuse for returning to trouble the living. It would appear also that the idea of infection with the tabu of death may have something to do with the burial

of property; and it is worth noting that among some tribes who do not bury property (*e.g.* the Berom) the dead man's belongings are carefully anointed to remove the defilement of death.

*Libations and Purificatory Rites.* After the funeral, libations are made to the dead—of beer as a rule, but sometimes also of blood. The Gwari offering is of beer or bullock's blood. The Baushi sprinkle blood, rice, and flour on the grave, and the Kamuku drip the blood of a cock on the body. The Kona offer beer daily, the Kamberi on the day of death and on the fourth day after that, the Margi a week after death. Prayer is offered at the graveside by the Gwari and many other tribes. The Jukun widow prays for herself and her family. The Keri-Keri address the dead man, and bid him tell the spirits of death that it is no use for them to try and claim any more victims, for there are no more living beings left. The dead man's house is often burnt down, and the bereaved family purify themselves by passing burning grass round their legs and bodies (Munshi).

*The Funeral Feast.* The funeral feast is among all the tribes an integral part of the funeral rites. It is a farewell banquet to the departed friend, who is believed to be present amongst the guests and to partake of the food and drink. The dead man's spirit lingers about until this final rite has been performed.

Among the Berom, on the evening of death a small heap of smouldering chaff is left at the entrance of the dwelling, together with some bundles of twigs, so that the departed spirit can come and sit and get warmth. A stick is placed at the foot of the cactus path to assist him to walk, and his pipe is laid out in his hut by the fire so that he may have his accustomed smoke. Among the

Basa also the dead man is believed to return to his house, outside which his friends and relatives assemble to hear his piping voice. Then follows the funeral feast, which may last for two or three days or be extended over weeks. Usually the feast is not held until some days after death, and among the tribes who practise some form of mummification it may be postponed for months. Indeed, a poor man is often obliged to delay the feast for as long as three years. Among the Ganawuri no festival is held for a warrior until months after his burial, and among the Tangale the principal funeral feast is also held after several months, and is known as "the loosing of the string"—the final dismissal, no doubt, of the dead man's soul. As a rule, however, the funeral feast is held as soon as the viands have been collected and the beer brewed. It is a drunken orgy. Dancing and music are a regular accompaniment, with the intention, no doubt, of driving away death. The assumption of horned masks by some of the dancers (Dakakari, Yoruba, etc.) would seem to emphasize this object, as the dancers keep butting at an unseen thing with their horns. For a chief the feast is on an extensive scale, and numerous cattle may be slaughtered to provide the food. At the funeral feast of the Angas chief the skulls captured from neighbouring tribes were brought by the guests and bandied about by the dancers.

After the burial of a Waja blacksmith all his brother blacksmiths collect at the dead man's house and give a display of their power over fire. They pick out red-hot irons from the fire, and beat them with their bare hands, or apply red-hot embers to each others' bodies, without inflicting injury. They are then given a feast by the dead man's relatives.

The funeral feast generally marks the conclusion of the first period of mourning.

*Second Funeral Ceremonies.* Second funeral rites are frequently performed. After thirty days the Basange have their graves formally opened and clothes deposited inside. The Berom remove the dead man's skull after forty days. The Mumuye remove their skulls when the flesh has decomposed, and the Jarawa remove theirs after the expiration of a month, the priest cleaning the skull carefully with locust-beans.

The Chamba hold a ceremony at the end of a year, the priest removing the dead man's head from the grave and smearing it with some mixture. The head is then taken to the sacred grove, and placed in a pot beside the other family skulls. The priest then offers sacrifice, and tells the dead man that he has brought him to his last resting-place. Then, addressing the Sun God, he formally consigns to his care the dead man's soul, beseeching the god to preserve the other members of the family from death. The assembled people then clap their hands three times, and the rites are concluded by a final festival. It will be seen that the object of these second ceremonies is the final dismissal of the dead man's soul.

*Preservation of Skulls.* Heads of the dead are removed and placed in pots by the following tribes: Angas, Sura, Ankwe, Berom, Chamba, Jarawa, Ganawuri, Anaguta, Seiyawa, Yergum, and Vere. The heads of Tangale males are wrapped in straw and placed on the grave. Those of females are placed in pots. The Anaguta place their skulls in pots which have holes perforated at the bottom to allow of the passage of rain and libations of beer. The Angas deposit their skulls in a pot which is covered with a second pot. These pots are placed in the sacred grove.

The object of removing the skulls may be to free the dead man's spirit from the body. But, as the skulls of old people only are removed, the practice is mainly connected with the worship of ancestors. The skulls are not merely precious mementoes—they are charged with spiritual power, potent to aid those who offer their devotions before them.

*Mourning.* The occurrence of a death, we have said, induces a state of tabu, and those in this state are distinguished by mourning garb, which is generally the reverse of the garb of everyday life. The mourners shave their heads and cover their bodies with red earth or camwood dye. The Basa or Yoruba neither wash nor shave until the conclusion of the funeral rites (but the Umaisha Basa wash morning and evening for five months). Among the Jukun the widows are shaven, and all the dead man's relatives wear their clothes outside-in for a period of three days. The Warji widow mourns her husband by shaving her head and tying a strip of black cloth round her loins ; the widower mourns for his wife by wearing a strip of undried cow's hide round his waist. For a brother or son a string of the fibre of the monkey-bread tree takes the place of the strip of cow-hide.

Ba and Seiyawa widows tie bands of fresh grass round their loins, and change their costumes of leaves. Among the Lungu the widow is recognized by the strip of leather worn round the temples. She wears this for a year, at the conclusion of which she becomes the wife of one of her husband's sons. An Angas widow shows no mourning signs, but, before she can re-marry, a propitiatory ceremony is held at her late husband's grave. The widow of a Ba-Jare mourns her husband for three months, and wears a special leaf at the back of the right ear and at the

waist fore and aft. She would be stricken dumb if she failed to observe these rites. Bolewa widows cover their heads with white cloths, Yoruba widows with blue, and they remain secluded for forty days. Bachama widows mourn for a year. They then ceremonially break their cooking pots and are free to marry again. Yoruba widows may not re-marry until they have been purified by bathing in a stream. Among the Ron the nearest relative wears ropes of grass around his head, chest, and loins. The Mama, Ninzam, and Mada widow ties several turns of newly made string around the neck, chest, and waist. Among the Borom, widows mourn by wearing strings of fibre round the neck, and, if they have adopted clothes, they abandon these for a girdle of leaves. The Akoko widow wears a loin-cloth made from the bark of a tree; the Igbira leaves her breasts exposed, and will not sit on the ground unless a cloth has been spread. If she meets any one on the road she places her right hand on her left shoulder. Among the Butawa, widows wear a special costume of fibre-string smeared with red earth and studded with leaves. A widower shaves and turns his loin-skin outside-in.

It is clear that these mourning rites have a double object—they are a public announcement of bereavement, and they disguise the mourners from the onslaught of evil spirits. It is for the second of these two reasons that Hausa and Jukun parents shave half the head of children who have lost several brothers and sisters.

# VIII

# LANGUAGE AND LORE

A. The Languages, By N. W. Thomas, M.A.
B. Folk-lore.
C. Measurements and Methods of Counting.
D. Musical Instruments.

## A. The Languages

By N. W. Thomas, M.A., F.R.A.I.

The languages of Negro Africa fall into two main groups —Bantu, spoken in South Africa, but also extending in the west several degrees north of the Equator, and Sudanic, which forms a belt of varying breadth from the Gambia to Abyssinia. Apart from aberrant forms the Bantu languages are of a well-defined type and remarkably homogeneous ; Sudanic tongues, on the other hand, are classifiable into four main branches, each with subordinate groups : (1) West Sudanic (four groups) ; (2) Central Sudanic (at least three groups) ; (3) the Middle Zone, with Semi-Bantu (at least four groups), and Pre-Semi-Bantu (two groups) ; and finally (4) Eastern Sudanic (two groups). In the Northern Provinces of Nigeria are found languages of three West Sudanic groups—Mande, Kwa, and Nupe ; of two Central Sudanic groups—Kanuri and Benue-Chad ; and of two Semi-Bantu groups—Volta and Nigerian ; and of the Adamawa group of Pre-Semi-Bantu.

In the Northern Provinces there are more than two hundred and thirty different languages, of which less than ten are known to us by adequate grammars and dictionaries, a rather larger number by extended vocabularies, and others (making up a grand total of about fifty) by shorter vocabularies accompanied by data as to the

Fig. 115. A boxing bout

Fig. 116. A boxing bout

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plural of nouns. Unpublished vocabularies of about one hundred and fifty languages are in the possession of the Nigerian Government; but they are frequently scanty and of little use for comparison, and in the absence of grammatical data they serve only for the roughest of rough classifications, especially in the case of languages of the Middle Zone, where much turns upon the character of the noun prefixes and similar points. It is therefore by no means improbable that when fuller data are available, the number of Semi-Bantu groups may have to be enlarged, and it is also possible that some of the languages in the west may turn out to be allied to one or other of the Togoland Semi-Bantu groups.

The classification of languages is genealogical. A family of languages consists of groups, and the groups consist of individual languages formed by diverse modifications of a parent language. Obscurities arise from the transformations of language, due in part to mutual influence, in part to internal development, but difficulties of classification arise from the lack of historical data, not from the existence of hybrid tongues; for a language does not change its position in a family, whatever transformations it may undergo; two languages of the same family are still members of it, even though no trace of common origin remains.

Such are the axioms of Indo-European philology, but they involve certain assumptions which do not necessarily hold true in African philology, such as the law that phonetics and morphology are in the main closed systems and borrowed forms remain isolated. It remains, however, true that the main test of language kinship is morphology; secondary evidence of importance may be derived from phonology; hence the need for rigorous accuracy in transcription.

Unhappily a large section of Sudanic languages have virtually no morphological elements; they are of the isolating type, which does not modify the forms of words but simply juxtaposes them in a certain order, which determines the meaning of the sentence. Hence it is necessary in African philology to fall back on vocabulary as a test of kinship. Where there are many correspondences in fields little subject to borrowing, kinship may be regarded as probable; but the proof is not rigorous. In small linguistic areas—such as are the rule more especially in the Middle Zone and Central Sudanic languages—borrowing may take place on a large scale, as has been shown by Dr. Struck in the case of Nagumi, a Bantu language on the upper waters of the Benue. He has proved that the vocabulary of Nagumi is made up of forty-two per cent. of words derived from primitive Bantu roots, while fifty-three per cent. are Sudanic and shared by Nagumi with the surrounding Sudanic tongues, though often they are in Nagumi in a more primitive form. It is clear that Nagumi was originally a Bantu tongue which has now borrowed more than half its words from non-Bantu neighbours, and it is also clear that the same has happened with Mboa (Adamawa) and in the nearly related languages of the Jarawa group. In fact, Koelle's Jarawa list, seventy years old, shows words from Bantu roots which have to-day been re-placed by words from Sudanic languages. The kinship of the three languages is clear from the following list:

| English | Nagumi | Mboa | Jarawa |
|---|---|---|---|
| blood | kila | ni-kili | kil |
| eye | miso | misi | misi |
| head | muro | mo | mu |
| stone | tala | tal | tal |
| tooth | maeno | min | min |

It is now clear that but little reliance can be placed on the evidence of vocabulary alone. Before rigorous proof of language affinities can be given, there must be a phonetic analysis of the elements, and clear evidence that the laws of phonetic change are Bantu or Sudanic.

If borrowing can take place to the extent seen in Nagumi between Bantu and Sudanic, it can also take place with equal or greater ease between one Sudanic group and another, irrespective of whether they both belong to the same branch or not. It is probable that the Nigerian Semi-Bantu group, as finally constituted, will be found to have many West Sudanic elements and not a few from North-west Bantu ; it seems probable that there has also been some Central Sudanic influence which has so transformed Yergum, for example, that its Semi-Bantu affinities are barely discoverable.

As no phonetic treatment of the material which forms the basis for this chapter has at present been attempted, it is clear that the classification adopted can only be regarded as provisional, especially in the case of the languages assigned to the Middle Zone ; for in the absence of information as to plural forms and grammatical features, such as the presence or absence of concord, it is impossible to be certain whether or not the conditions are fulfilled which membership of a Semi-Bantu group demands. A Semi-Bantu language (1) belongs to the Sudanic sub-family ; (2) classifies its nouns by means of pronominal affixes after the manner of Bantu languages ; (3) shows the concord between noun and verb or adjective by the use of the same pronominal affix ; and (4) has a vocabulary derived originally from roots typical of the old or new Semi-Bantu groups.

Simple word-lists, apart from phonetic analysis and classification of roots, at most suggest inclusion of the

languages in the Middle Zone, but do not prove them to be Semi-Bantu, much less indicate to which Semi-Bantu group they are to be assigned. As the most urgent immediate problem in Sudanic philology is the empirical codification of as many languages as possible, to be followed by the determination of the inter-relations of the different groups, it cannot be said that the vocabularies on which this chapter is based really throw much new light upon Sudanic problems. They are, on the other hand, of undoubted utility in enabling us to chart provisionally the distribution of the languages of the four main branches ; and on the whole it may be said that as no striking anomalies of distribution are apparent when we include in Semi-Bantu the tongues for which vocabularies only, without details as to prefixes, are available, it seems probable that Nigeria has within its borders more Semi-Bantu languages than any other part of Africa. It must of course be understood that further information may or may not reveal their Semi-Bantu character. For just as Jarawa has so far departed from the Bantu type as to be, from a morphological point of view, not recognizably Bantu, so Semi-Bantu languages may have shed their prefixes and dropped their concords, till they are no longer of the normal Semi-Bantu type. This is, for example, probably the case with Yergum, assigned to the Semi-Bantu not because the four conditions above laid down are fulfilled, but because it is of a type which does not permit us to assign it either to the Kwa prefix languages or to the Central Sudanic branch.

In the case of the Central branch, where affixes do not play a decisive part in the classification, it has been possible to attempt some extension of Prietze's arrangement ; some of the questions raised are dealt with below.

## THE LANGUAGE GROUPS

### A. Sudanic.

*West Sudanic Division.*

*Mande*: Boko (Busa), Kenga, Shanga.

*Kwa*: Yoruba and dialects, Igara.

*Nupe*: Basa (Benue), Ebe, Ganagana, Gupa, Gwari, Igbira, Jen, Jukun, Kakanda, Kona, Musu, Nupe, Somboro, Wurbo, and perhaps some of the variants of Koro.

*Middle Zone.*

*Volta*: Borgu (Barba), Laruawa, Lopawa.

*Nigerian Semi-Bantu*: Afo, Afudu, Arago, Bangi, Basa (Kaduna), Boritsu, Burum, Dakakari (Chilila), Dukawa, Gungawa, Gurmana, Jaba (Ham), Kamberi, Kamuku, Koro, Kurama, Munshi (Tivi), Shingini, Yergum, Yeskwa, and Zumper (Mbarike).

The following also may belong to this group: Anaguta, Barawa, Berom, Buji, Buli, Butawa, Dingi, Chawai, Fachara (Teria), Forum, Ganawuri, Gbaiyawa, Geji (Gezawa), Guram, Guruntumawa, Ikulu, Irigwe (Kwol), Jaku, Hill Jarawa, Jere, Jimi, Jos, Kadara (Peda), Kadun, Kagoro, Kaibi, Kaje, Kaleri, Kare, Katab, Kentu, Kiballo, Kikurku, Kinuku, Kitimi, Kolu, Kopti, Kudawa, Kuturmi, Mada, Mama, Moroa, Ngwoi, Ningi, Ninzam, Nungu, Pai, Paiem, Piti, Pongo, Rebinawa, Riban, Rishuna, Rop, Rukuba, Rumaiya, Ruruma, Seiyawa (Zar), Sigidawa, Srubu, Taura, Zul.

*Adamawa*: Chamba Daka, Chamba Laego, Fali, Kugama, Vere, Vomni.

*Central Sudanic Division.*

*Kanuri*: Kanuri.

*Benue-Chad*: (1) WESTERN: (*a*) *Bornu*[1] sub-section: Afawa, Auyokawa, Barke, Bolewa, Bura and Babur, Denawa, Galambe, Gerawa, Gerumawa, Gongola, Guru, Hina, Holma, Hona (?), Jara, Jera, Kanakuru, Kerikeri, Kirifi, Kofa, Longuda, Malabu, Margi, Muja, Ngamo, Ngizim, Nyimaltu, Ringim, Sirawa, Tera, Warjawa; (*a* ii) *Muri-Bauchi*,[2] Angas, Baron (?), Ankwe, Hausa (?), Miriam, Montoil, Nafunfia (?), Sura, Tal.

(*b*) *Benue*: Bachama, Bata, Muha, Mumbake, Mumuye, Teme, Waka, Yakoko, Yendam, Zani.

(*c*) *Gongola*: Awok, Bangunji, Bambuka, Borok, Chum, Dadiya, Gurkawa, Kamu, Kushi, Kwa (?), Sua, Tangale, Tula, Waja.

(2) CENTRAL: Gamergu, Wandala.

(3) EASTERN: (*b*) *Lake*: Buduma, Kuri; (*c*) Makeri, Nghala.

(4) UNCERTAIN: Lala, Yungur, Munga.

B. BANTU.

Bankalawa, Bare, Bili, Bobar, Bomberawa, Dungerawa, Gubawa, Jarawa, Mbula, Wurkum.

*Not Classed*: Fula, Zaberma-Dendi (Songhai).

[1] Bornu is a convenient, not a strictly geographical term.

[2] The connection of the Muri-Bauchi section with the remainder of the Benue-Chad group rests mainly on word identities between Ankwe and Bolewa. So far as syntax goes, the two languages for which texts are available, Sura and Angas, diverge widely from the suffix type, which is, at least, very common among Benue-Chad languages; they are virtually isolating tongues. The question therefore arises whether they have been affected by the neighbouring Jukun syntax, or have preserved an earlier type of speech of the Central Division; at present no answer can be given.

For a large number of tribes there are as yet no data at all.

The question of the position of Hausa is a much disputed one, and some authorities have regarded it as a Sudanic tongue that has undergone Hamitic influence, others as an Hamitic tongue that has come within the Sudanic speech forms and been correspondingly modified. There are a certain number of resemblances with Ankwe, as the table below shows, and it has here been classed with the Central branch. This has been done mainly because there are a certain number of correspondences between Ankwe and other languages of the Benue-Chad group, which are set out in the table below. From what has been said in the foregoing pages as to borrowing it is evident that the proof is far from rigorous.

Nafunfia and Baron appear to occupy an isolated position, but are added to this group on the strength of some remote resemblance to Ankwe.

| | Hausa | Ankwe | Logone | Bolewa | Mandara | Bata |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| blood | dšini (oini) | tiem | xsi | dum | wuze | jambe |
| head | kai | ka | ka-a | koi | yire | ne |
| tooth | hakori | haghas | θam | udo | sare | leni |
| nose | handši (hantsi) | gon | xseni | wunti | etare | čine |
| hand | hanu | sa | θada | sara | ? erwa | tufei |
| eye | ido | yit | si | ido | itse | dito |
| hair | gaši | šul | mtsale | sowu | ugyire | šewo |
| woman | mače | mat | geneni | mundu | moksa | moto |
| moon | wata | tar | tedi | tere | tre | likito |
| arrow | kibia (kibao) | bo | — | fošo | — | ngelubei |

If it is correct to assign Ankwe and its allies to the Benue-Chad group and to make Hausa one of the same group it is clear that the Bauchi plateau—the meeting-ground of Bantu, Semi-Bantu, West and Central Sudanic—will prove to be an area of great linguistic confusion.

In order to map out the distribution of the various tongues it is desirable that all vocabularies should, like those of Barth, be accompanied by as complete a list as possible of villages in which they are spoken. The Benue-Chad group has to some extent flowed round the flanks of the tribes that seem to represent the most easterly extension of Semi-Bantu speech-forms.

The map of language distribution shows that each of the three main groups is split into two or more sections completely, or all but completely, cut off from each other. Thus if we can assign Jukun to the Nupe group, a point on which there is some doubt, not only is the main body of Jukun, so far as can be seen, separated from the rest of the group, but a smaller section of Jukun itself lies north-east of the main mass.

In the Middle Zone are three main sections and two small isolated groups: the Kontagora section, for the most part definitely Semi-Bantu, lies west of the Gwari tribes; the Bauchi section, of which only a few members are so far definitely recognized as Semi-Bantu, is perhaps not absolutely cut off from the Benue section, Munshi, Afo, Arago, and Koro, all Semi-Bantu, but the connecting bridge is so narrow that the Benue section is really, except to the south, surrounded by tribes of the Benue-Chad or the Nupe group. Yergum on the south-east is isolated.

The Benue-Chad group is, in the main, a connected mass, but it flows round the Jukun island in the Gongola-Benue angle with only narrow bridges on either side. This prolongation may or may not be united to the Gwandara (pagan Hausa) on the south-west of the Bauchi section of the Middle Zone. How the Gwandara and Hausa [1] came into their position there is nothing to show;

[1] The Abakwariga at Wukari in Jukun territory are pagan Hausa.

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they can hardly be a split-off section that turned leftwards past the Bauchi plateau, when the main mass turned right; it may turn out that they were brought down by the Jukun.

It is clear that the Jukun, as occupiers of the Benue valley—the simplest line of advance eastwards (or westwards)—must be later comers than the Benue-Chad tribes on either side of them. The Gwari tribes again have broken through between the Kontagora and Bauchi Semi-Bantu sections, which must therefore be earlier than the Nupe group.

It seems probable that the same must be said of the Benue-Chad tribes, for they have flowed past on either side of the Bauchi section of the Middle Zone, which is notable for the smallness of the tribal areas. The Munshi are apparently wanderers from the north, and must have crossed the Jukun line of advance after that tribe had passed up the Benue valley. It is not yet clear how the Dama-Gayi, Boki, etc., south of the Munshi, are related to the main mass of Nigerian Semi-Bantu.

The isolated position of the Busa-Kenga section of the Mande group is not at present accounted for.

It seems therefore from the topographical relation of this group that the tribes of the Middle Zone must be occupying, if not their original positions, at least an area that was very early in this occupation. Upon this impinged the Central tribes, coming from the direction of Chad, but without causing any marked dislocation. Finally, the Nupe group, as the vanguard, of the West Sudanic tribes, disrupted the Semi-Bantu and made inroads in the solid mass of the Central tribes, which had flowed round the Semi-Bantu tribes entrenched in the Bauchi highlands, and perhaps cut them off from the Benue and Cross rivers (Boki, etc.).

From the scattered formation of the Bantu tribes it seems probable that they found themselves in the road of the Central advance, perhaps on a point represented by the line of the Upper Middle Benue, and were broken up and ceased to form a continuous group. Their language affinities are with the North-west Bantu, but there is no close relationship with the Cross-river Semi-Bantu (Nde, Ekoi, etc.).

One of the most curious problems of African linguistics is the duodecimal system of numeration in the Bauchi area, first recorded by Koelle for Ham, Koro, and Yeskwa. A few years ago I published the Burum system, and in an American journal (*Varia Africana*, i. 93) appeared four more systems—Mada, Ninzam, Nungu, and the Mada area. New data are now to hand for Rop (practically Burum) (Berom), Teria or Fachara (Berom in part), Afo (Yeskwa in part), and Ganawuri. Koro, Yeskwa, Afo, and probably Ham, are Semi-Bantu ; the remainder are allied in vocabulary to the Semi-Bantu languages, but in the absence of data as to plurals, etc., cannot be definitely classed with them.

To this duodecimal scheme of numeration there is no exact parallel in Africa, though the Huku and Walegga, near the great lakes, have something like it in the numbers above 12 ; but as their numerals show no resemblance to those of the Bauchi tribes there is nothing to connect the two areas.

In the extreme west the Bola and Bulanda have a senary system, due perhaps to some pre-Hamitic influence ; but this is altogether different, even though the third 6 starts with 13. It has been suggested above that the Bauchi plateau represents one of the oldest linguistic strata in Nigeria, and this tells in favour of the view that

the duodecimal system is a home product. There is at any rate no evidence of Babylonian culture elements there; and Babylonia was the duodecimal centre in the near East, to which we naturally look if alien influence is to be invoked.

Of the four systems appended, Rop is subtractive for 9, 10, and 11, Teria for 9 and 10; the Ganawuri forms are obscure, and Afo is subtractive for 10 and 11.

There are no records of how these tribes count on their fingers, and it is desirable to inquire into this point before it is too late; finger-counting often does much to elucidate the origin of the numerals.

| | Fachara | Rop | Afo | Ganawuri |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | unu | gwinin | nze | zo-dan ; idei |
| 2. | biare | ba | po | va-so-fwa ; ifa |
| 3. | čare | tat | la | va-so-tat ; itat |
| 4. | nyazen | nas | ndo | va-so-nas ; inas |
| 5. | čan | tun | lo | va-so-wi ; owi |
| 6. | čimin | timin | tanyi | vo-tara ; atara |
| 7. | čamba | tama | lowo | n-ita |
| 8. | kurir | rui | randa | n-aris |
| 9. | pore | sitat | londo | diyan ; dujen |
| 10. | tankibba | sabiba | nguwo | dugabo ; endubabwo |
| 11. | čiris | sagwinin | ngworanyi | saten |
| 12. | čukut | ikudu | ngusor | uku |
| 13. | ikurudigitat | anuhigwinin | usorlakunyi | naredan |
| 14. | — | atunohiba | usorlakpo | — |
| 15. | — | — | usorlela | — |
| 20. | akutaba | — | usorleranda | retipuva |

The brief vocabularies on which this chapter is based throw little light on syntax and morphology; the plurals of nouns are not indicated systematically; there are no sentences to show the concord, if any, of verb and adjective, the position of subject, verb, object, etc.; and it is only occasionally that data as to the position of the dependent genitive are included. The only novel and important point disclosed is a widespread use of feminine pronominal forms, which of course indicate natural gender.

As regards the position of the dependent genitive, it varies rather according to the group than anything else. The Kwa, Nupe, Nigerian, and Benue-Chad groups make the genitive follow the noun, with certain exceptions such as Agni-Twi, Ewe (with exceptions), Kenga, and Kana, which follow the opposite rule ; while Edo, Ibo, and some others have examples of both rules, with a majority for the normal position. The remainder of the Sudanic groups in Nigeria put the genitive before the noun on which it depends ; it is uncertain how far exceptions prevail among them. It is apparent that the position of the dependent genitive may throw valuable light upon the group to which a language belongs ; it should therefore be recorded, and special note made of any exceptions.

With regard to the plural of nouns it is impossible to give a general survey that would be of any use ; the data are too scanty in almost all languages, and there is too little agreement between languages even of the same section. Basa, Gurmana, Kamuku, and Koro show a certain amount of resemblance ; but Afo, Dakakari, Duka, Gunga, Kamberi, and Kurama are so diverse that out of thirty-six pairs of prefixes recorded no single one has its counterpart in a second language.

In the Adamawa group the few forms recorded are suffixes, and in the Benue-Chad group the same plural is found in the Bornu and Gongola sections side by side with other changes : (*a*) suffix-change with or without mutation of the internal vowel ; (*b*) suffix added to the singular ; (*c*) prefix-change with or without concomitant suffix and vowel-change ; (*d*) reduplication ; (*e*) consonant changes not readily recognizable as suffixial. In the Benue section what little information is to hand points to a prevailing suffixial mode of forming the plural.

Before any connected account of plural formation can be given many more examples are needed ; these can only be collected if a heterogeneous vocabulary is worked over and a classified list of plural forms given, which should include fifty or a hundred words.

Grammatical gender is a comparatively rare phenomenon in Sudanic languages. In Nigeria, Hausa has apparently borrowed it from the Hamitic family. For most of the other languages no data are available ; if it occurs it will be in the Benue-Chad group, and should not be difficult to detect.

Natural gender, on the other hand, which is parallel to sex in the human being, is found over a considerable area in the Northern Provinces in one or more of the singular personal pronouns. The records are at present too scanty for it to be possible to say whether it is also found in the nouns ; it is desirable to record the names of domestic and other animals of different sexes, of human agents, etc. ; for there seems to be no reason why natural gender should be limited to the pronouns.

Up to the present there is in print only the case of Bolewa, with forms in the second and third person singular ; while Gwari draws a distinction between human, non-human, and neuter, to which partial parallels are found in Ijo, Azande, Kru, Dagomba, and Malinke. The vocabularies on which this chapter is based contained only in a small number of cases the pronouns, which are notoriously difficult to collect. It is therefore probable that the list here given can be extended.

1st person : Dakakari.

2nd person : Borgu, Busa, Gongola, Katab, Lopawa, Zaberma.

3rd person ; Afo, Ankwe, Bachama, Bata, Daka (?), Gurka, Wom (?), Yergum.

2nd and 3rd person : Angas (?), Arago (?), Auyokawa, Basa (Kaduna), Bede, Bolewa, Gwandara (?), Igbira, Jukun, Kadara, Kanakuru, Kanuri, Kerikeri, Koro, Kurama, Mada, Miriam, Montoil, Ngamo, Ngizim, Ngwoi, Piti, Tangale, Yeskwa.

The only group not represented is the small Adamawa one ; the Benue-Chad group stands first in numbers with 17, closely followed by the Middle Zone with 8 + 5.

The Benue-Chad group seems to have originated the fashion, which did not necessarily spread from Hausa, as the distribution shows ; and if the record is correct the fashion must be spreading rapidly, for the published data for Jukun, Kanuri, and Zaberma make no mention of a feminine pronoun. But after all deductions are made there remain a large number of feminine forms on which no suspicion rests.

It seems quite possible that the development of gender took place from two distinct centres—Hausa and another undetermined one ; for five languages agree with Hausa in the second person singular masculine, and three more show close resemblance ; the palatalized form *ci* corresponds in five languages to the Hausa feminine form.

Equally striking, in a way, is the fact that while Kanuri and Yeskwa take the Hausa masculine form as a feminine, Bede, Ngizim, and Kanuri use the feminine as a masculine, if the vocabularies are correct.

It is not improbable that the Ankwe-Angas forms are also related to those of Hausa ; but the divergence is much greater and the borrowing must be remote. It is possible that the forms go back to an original common

Fig. 117. A Jen, six feet six inches in height —Muri Province

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form ; but this is only a possibility. The Ankwe-Montoil forms are (m.) *ge*, *ga* (cf. Angas *ra*), and Miriam has the same form in composition ; the feminine in Ankwe-Angas is *ye*, *ya*, and Miriam again has the same form in composition, and Montoil has *ji*. In the third personal singular Auyokawa, Bede, Bolewa, Kerikeri, Ngizim, and Ngamo agree fairly closely with Hausa and have probably borrowed. Gurka has *ta* (m.) and *ki* (f.), both of them Hausa feminine forms ; it is not clear whether it is a case of unconformable borrowing. For Arago, Koro, and Mada the data seem on the whole unreliable and I pass them over ; Afo, Kadara, Kurama, and Piti have a form (m.) *awa*, *uwa*, etc., and Basa has *bua*. There are certain forms reported which show a relation to these pronouns, but they do not present the appearance of genuine pronouns, though they may be compounds or emphatic forms ; these are : *buabet* (Kamuku), *buaburi* (Ngwoi), and *buraibu* (Kurama).

## B. Folk-Lore

The record of Nigerian folk-tales is at present one-sided and incomplete ; Major Edgar, Major Tremearne, and Capt. Rattray have supplied a large number of Hausa tales, and Sir A. B. Ellis has published some from the Yoruba ; but those of most other Nigerian peoples are as yet unrecorded.

The Hausa tales are not really primitive ; they contain accretions, and are, like the Hausa themselves, modified by alien influences. They group themselves into sagas, or historic tales, and fanciful tales about people or about animals. The historic tales form a series purporting to give the origin of the Hausa nation and the story of its conversion to the Muhammadan religion. They begin with a mythical hero, son of a king of Bornu, who mounts

his magical horse with the golden horn, and, marrying a king's daughter in the country of Daura, has a son and daughter, from whose union springs the Hausa nation. This is the Daura tradition already recorded in the chapter on history. The story proceeds to follow the waves of Muhammadan conversion from Bornu, and the intermittent relapses into paganism for some seventy-six generations of kings. The " tales about people " also make some fanciful claim to historicity, as when they deal with the origin of building walled cities.

The Yoruba have—as well as the *alo*, or fanciful tale—their stories of national tradition, embodying ancient chronicles handed down through generations of *Arobin*, or narrators, who are attached to each king or paramount chief. The historic value of these Hausa and Yoruba chronicles is difficult to determine, as one cannot separate the myth from the basis of fact ; or, as Mr. Hartland would say, " arrive at the truth by rationalizing the marvellous." The influence of the religion and literature of Islam on a native illiterate stock is very highly confusing to folk-lore memory. Thus, though the names of Abubakr and his successors are historical, and it is instructive to find them accurately recorded by tradition, there is—as we have seen in our summary of the traditions—no certainty that the events described have a true historical foundation ; indeed, in view of the fact that it is around the unusual and remarkable that myth mainly gathers, the very fame and religious importance of the first four Caliphs makes the traditional record historically insecure.

With regard to the fanciful tales, the Yoruba, whether the private individual recounting *alo*, or the itinerant professional story-teller, makes a simple beginning by saying, " There is my *alo*." The Hausa, however, both

begins and ends with a form so elaborate and fixed that it is almost a rite in itself. It is a ceremonial acknowledgment of the cunning spider in whose name most tales are told. The tales themselves will be found by the student of folk-lore to carry accretions from Muhammadan and West African sources. Certain tales are reminiscent of well-known European tales ; for example, that of the donkey-girl born to a woman who says she wishes she had a child, were it only a donkey. The girl used to throw off her donkey-skin in the forest and bathe ; a hunter sees it, arranges for its theft, and marries her. This tale recalls the swan-maiden and serpent-child types. Again, *Dodo* is the Giant, and Auta is Jack the Giant-killer. Such likenesses, however, may well be typological rather than genetic in origin, and it is only of a very complex story that the polygenetic origin is unlikely. The recognized European types, moreover, are not sufficient for the common stock of African stories ; it is more satisfactory, therefore, to compare the Nigerian tales with well-known African types, whether fathered locally or recorded in *Uncle Remus*. Thus we find such tales as that of the two boys and a girl, where the girl is tied up in a tree and abandoned by the cruel brother ; which is similar to the Basuto tale of Masilo, Masilonyana, and their sister. Again, the Congo tales recorded by Mr. Weeks have many similarities with Hausa stories, and many incidents in common as well, such as the ogre husband smelling the wife's sister in the house in the style of Fee-Fo-Fum, animals left to guard a camp being tied up one after another, and captured animals escaping by pretending the captor has hold of a stick. There are many variants also of the common African theme of a monster which swallows men, animals, and other objects, which

emerge unhurt when it is killed and cut open. Stories recalling *Uncle Remus* are numerous. "The Malam, the Spider, and the Hyena," in which the spider, with detailed artifice, rides the hyena, is like "How Brer Rabbit made Brer Fox his riding-hoss"; while the familiar Tar-baby becomes the Rubber-girl among the Hausa, with which may be compared the gum-man of the Banyanja, the Ronga gum-girl, and the Sierra Leone wax-maiden. Some of the tales suggest totemism, such as the story of the alliance between a girl and a chameleon, or of the woman who turns into a hawk, and that of the boy who persuades the hyena that he is not going to kill him, saying, "Does a man kill his brother?" In this connection we may refer to what has been said on the subject of lycanthropy.

The animal stories include representatives of practically all local fauna, the king of beasts in many tales being the hare [1]; but far more generally the great hero is the spider, master of cunning. The lion is inferior in wit to the leopard, and the spider outwits them all. The origin of the spider is given in a tale which claims to be etiological; the spider was a smith, but the lion fell on him and tore him up, and "he broke up and made many feet." But many of the tales claim to explain origins in a scarcely plausible manner. Thus when the brother kills himself on finding he has inadvertently married his sister, the tale ends, "This is the beginning of hatred between children of one father by different mothers." [2]

We have already noted elsewhere two accounts of the origin of cannibalism.[3] The Berom have a tale recording the origin of fire, which, they say, was first revealed by a

[1] The hare is among the Angas the readiest of wit among all animals

[2] *Yan uba* (see Vol. I., p. 229).

[3] See p. 58.

black cow to a young Berom boy. Prior to this the Berom had never cooked their food. The Bachama have a great many stories which profess to be etiological. Thus the origins of wedded life and of burial are given in the following accounts, for which I am indebted to Dr. Bronnum. The first man and woman lived in the bush, apart from one another. The man had a house, the woman had none. But the woman understood the art of cooking, which the man did not. One wet night the man invited the woman to his house. He provided her with a mat, an article she had never seen before, and she in return made him some hot food. So he asked her to stay with him always, but she refused until he should first win her with gifts. This was the origin of marriage and of the custom of the bride-price.

The origin of the custom of burying corpses is given in the story of Won, the god of the dead, who killed his children by mistake, and to conceal them from his sight buried their bodies in the ground.

Some of the tales introduce parables or proverbs, such as " The master does not drink from the same vessel as his dog," said by a virtuous slave-woman to her chief; and, in the story of the chief Gornekeke and the cook who poisoned him after promising to avoid the chief's wife, it is said, " This is the origin of the saying ' Love him who loves you, leave him who hates you lest he poison you.' " Others embody riddles, such as " The king of wrestlers, the king of bowmen, the king of prayer, who was best ? "

The most interesting feature, however, of these tales is the process of moralization which is observable; for by the approval or disapproval of each person, or of each animal, representing in a more or less humanized form a

certain type of character, we see something of an early moral philosophy. Thus the greedy and selfish chief is punished, and likewise the unreasonably jealous and oppressive husband. Again, we find that the wise jackal is consulted by the monkey, who, after quoting to the hyena " Do not return evil for good," is ill-requited and has his tail bitten off by the hyena ; the jackal assists the monkey, and approval is evidently bestowed on the hyena. Sometimes the moralization appears more advanced in a variant of the same tale ; thus the story recorded by Major Tremearne of the *Dodo* who chases the husband merely contains a rebuke to a wife who thought the *Dodo* might be superior to her husband, whereas in Capt. Rattray's version it is the wife who rebukes her husband in a somewhat advanced philosophical strain : " Whatever you do, make little of it. Whether you excel in strength or power, riches or poverty, and are puffed up with pride, it is all the same ; some one is better than you." In the tale of the orphan girl whose jealous stepmother " became black of heart and died," we are told " That is the first appearance of wickedness ; whoever commits a sin against another it comes back on himself ; a certain learned man sang ' May Allah dispense mercy on him ; whosoever sows evil it comes forth in his own garden.' " Here we have very plainly the later Muhammadan influence in the developed morality attached to the primitive tale.

Manners and arts, as well as morality, reveal themselves in these tales. The tale of Musa, for instance, shows the relations of brother and sister, and the " Cinderella " story gives us the homely ingredients for making soups. The advanced art of brass-casting is explained in the details given of the cire-perdue method ; while references to

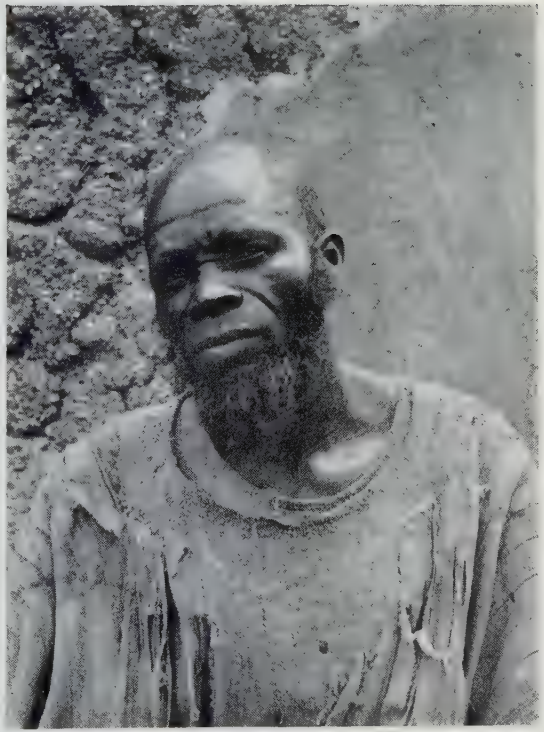

Fig. 118. One of the Hill Angas —Bauchi Province

Fig. 119. A Yergum—Muri Province

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smiths, hunters, riders, cooks, and so forth, cast light on other occupations of the people.

The folk-tales are told round the fireside in the evenings. As a rule they are so well known that if even some unimportant word were altered the teller of the tale would be promptly corrected by his audience.

## C. Measurements and Methods of Counting

Negroes make their lineal measurements by comparisons with the size of the various parts of a man's arm. Thus among the Hausa there is the span of the forefinger to the thumb, which is known as a *teki* ; there is the length of the foot (*taiki*), the span of the elbow to the knuckles (*dungu*), of the wrist to the tip of the middle finger (*tafi*), of the forearm (*kamu*), and of the outstretched arms (*gaba*).

Counting, similarly, is among the more primitive peoples also carried on by a reference to the component parts of the human body. Among the Ankwe, for example, the word for " ten " is *sar*, which means " hands," *i.e.* all the fingers ; while the word for " twenty " is *ya gurum*, or the " whole man," *i.e.* all the fingers and toes. " Two hundred " would be *ya gurum tar*, *i.e.* the whole man taken ten times. In dealing with large numbers a tally is kept, sticks or stones being used, or marks made in the sand.

There are various other unstandardized, but well-recognized, means of measuring, of which the following Hausa examples may be given. A *mudu 'nabi* has about the same cubic capacity as a round cigarette-tin, a *mudu* being slightly larger. The calabash is a varying measure according as it is *koko*, *kworria*, or *masaki*. The Jukun

calabash holds about 2½ lbs. of guinea-corn. *Jimki* represents the amount of anything that can be contained in the hollow of the hand. *Gurara* is a large skin sack of regular size, the contents of which in grain are equal to half a camel's load. The *taiki* is a skin sack equal to a donkey's full load, while the *surkumi* is a much smaller load for a donkey. A woman's load of corn is known as the *jakar matan fada*.

With regard to the system of reckoning weeks and months there is little information. The Yoruba have six five-day weeks in the month, and the week is synchronized with the month by shortening the last week, so that the opening of the new week corresponds with the first day of the month.[1]

In the area south of the Benue the week does not appear to be found—at any rate in the sense in which the word is commonly used. The Jukun week would appear to be of five days, and to depend, not on the market, but on the system of beer-brewing. In the case of the Chamba and Zumper there appears to be a unit smaller than the month and synodic with it. But instead of the days of this unit receiving individual names, as is normally the case, the units themselves are named, and the days apparently remain unnamed. The month of which these units are subdivisions is nominally a thirty-day one. This is clearly the twenty-nine-and-a-half-day lunar month, but I have no information to show how the concluding portion of the month is dealt with in order to make the first day of the month fall on the first day of the first unit. As to the number of months in the year my information is also defective. It is well known that the Hausa year is

[1] The Twi on the Gold Coast have similarly a thirty-day month, but with a seven-day period ; while in Abyssinia there are three periods of eight days and one of six days.

Muhammadan, but when this was adopted there is no evidence to show, nor yet what preceded it. Further inquiry into the system of reckoning the year among tribes like the Ankwe and Angas, whose languages show points of correspondence with Hausa, would probably throw some light on this matter.

## D. Musical Instruments

The following musical instruments are found in the Northern Provinces : drums, gongs, fiddles, lutes, harps, musical bows, zithers, xylophones, harmonicons, oboes, trumpets, flutes, horns, pipes, whistles, and rattles.

Drums play an important part in the life of all Negro society ; their distribution therefore is widespread. Both the double and single-membrane varieties are found. The double-membrane drums are of all shapes and sizes. Some are plain, and some have a single or double snare. Others (*e.g.* the *kalango*) have bodies shaped like an hour-glass, and there are bracing-strings between the membranes for altering the tone of the drum. This seems to be a peculiarity of northern Nigerian drums, but the same idea is found in Japan.

There are single-membrane drums also of this pattern. They are most commonly seen among the Hausa, where they are used as a royal instrument, but I noted them also among the Zumper, south of the Benue. A sistrum of iron, with rings attached, is sometimes fixed on to the end of the drum to add a jingling effect to the notes. Seeds and pieces of money are also occasionally inserted into the body of the drum with the same object.

The usual type of single-membrane drum is that known to the Hausa as the *tambari*. It is made of copaiba wood,

and is beaten with a piece of hippo hide. The Hausa soak the body of the drum with oil to deepen the tone, the Afawa stick a piece of shea gutta-percha on the membrane. Other varieties of this drum are the *kurkutu*, which has a hole in the body; the *banga*, which has a hole in the membrane; and the *tabshi*, which also has a hole in the membrane and is beaten by hand. These three drums are made of the wood of the *Prosopis oblonga* tree, but single-membrane drums are also made with bodies of pumpkin (Afawa), of gourds (Gana-Gana), and earthenware pots (Igbira, Gwari, Kupa, Gana-Gana, and Nupe).

*Gongs.* Two types of gong are found. The large wooden gong, hollowed out of a tree, is characteristic of some southern tribes (Lala, Bachama, Munshi, Basa, Kakanda, Gana-Gana, and Kamberi). The Mada and Kaleri are said to use them, and the Nupe are believed to have used gongs in bygone days. This gong is the signal for war, and it is said that messages can be transmitted by its means. It is not found among the more northern tribes. The other type of gong consists of two bell-shaped pieces of iron jointed at the closed ends by a handle. This gong is beaten with an antelope's horn. It is associated with the person of the chief, is known to the Hausa as the *kuge*, and is found among the Jarawa, Borom, Kamberi, Dakakari, Mumuye, and Zumper.

*Stringed Instruments* of the fiddle and lute type have a widespread distribution, and are notably found among the Hausa and Gwari. The fiddle is sometimes, as among the Kamu and many other tribes, only used by hunters, and this fact might appear to confirm the belief that the fiddle originated among hunters who converted their bows into music-producing instruments. The musical bow, it may be noted, is found among the Igbira. The string is made

Fig. 120. A Jukun with harp—Muri Province

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of palm-leaf, and the bow is held close to the lips and tapped with a piece of guinea-corn stick held in the left hand. The musical bow would also appear to be used by the Kentu and Zumper; and when we come to speak of harps we shall find a harp-like instrument, used by some of the Benue tribes, which appears to be an instrument intermediate between the musical bow and the West African harp. The ordinary fiddle is made with a calabash resonator and a membrane of a monitor's skin.

The Beri-Beri have a two-stringed fiddle known as the *kukuma*, which has a membrane of red leather. The bow-string is always made of horsehair. The fiddle-strings are attached to the handle by binding, no tuning-pegs being used. There are several varieties of lute, among which we may note the Hausa three-stringed *molo*, the two-stringed *garaya* used by hunters, and the large Gwari *kaburu*. The two latter generally have a sistrum fixed on to the handle. Among lutes may also be classed the *gurmi* of the Hausa—a calabash instrument covered with leather and strings made from palm-rat gut. The bridge is a piece of guinea-corn stalk filled with indigo pods, which rattle as the instrument is played.

The Ningi, and no doubt some other tribes also, have a lyre known as the *zunguru*.

*Harps*. The West African harp has a very restricted distribution in the Northern Provinces, being found, as far as I know definitely, only among the Chamba, Jukun, and Busawa. It is said to be used also by the Igbira, Gwari, and Kamuku. It has a boat-shaped resonator covered with membrane, and strings tightened with tuning-pegs. It has no forepillar. The West African harp appears to be identical with that depicted in ancient Egyptian paintings. It is found in upper Egypt at the

present day. Among harp-like instruments must also be included that which we have already indicated as being a form intermediary between the musical bow and the West African harp. It consists of a piece of bamboo two or three feet long, mounted on a gourd as a resonator. Three or four pieces of the cane are slit away from the surface (except at the ends), and raised at the centre one above the other on a notched bridge. They are tuned by means of sliding-bands of cane. This instrument is found among the Yola and Muri tribes, and appears to have been recently introduced from the Cameroons.

The *zither* or dulcimer is made of a number of parallel reeds, with strips slit away to form strings which are bridged up. The splitting stops short of the end of the reeds. There are strings on both sides of the central tray, which is sometimes filled with pebbles to add the effect of a rattle. The instrument is found in many other parts of the world, and is notably Malayan. The Nigerian zither is, however, peculiar in that the central strings are weighted by a wrapping of fibre obtained from the pod of the locust-bean. The Nigerian distribution of the zither is noteworthy. It occurs chiefly among the central tribes (*e.g.* Angas, Yergum, Arago, Mada, Koro, Kadara, Jaba, and Yeskwa), but it is found also to some extent among the Chamba, Zumper, Basa, Yagba, Aworo, and Nupe.

The *xylophone* has a curious distribution, being found among the Beri-Beri in the north, and further south among the Bachama and Bata, the Dadiya, Hina, Babur, Bura, Tera, Jera, Waja, and Bolewa. The Bachama xylophone consists of six or eight cow's horns. The Bornu instrument is made of fourteen graded calabashes covered with metal plates of beaten iron. It is therefore a harmonicon rather than a xylophone. The mallets are made of bone.

Of wind instruments we may note that the oboe is fairly well distributed as a royal instrument. Its introduction into Nigeria is traditionally ascribed to the founders of the Hausa states. This instrument produces a note like that of the bagpipes. The trumpet known as the *kakaki* is another royal instrument. It is usually about eight feet long, and is made of white metal. Its introduction is, in the Benue and Niger regions, ascribed to the founders of the Jukun state.

Pipes made of bamboo, with four stops and a mouthpiece of horn, are found among the Kamu and Mada. Among the Pero the pipes are of guinea-corn stalk. The Jukun and Igara also use wooden pipes.

There is, in addition, a great variety of flutes, horns, whistles, and rattles. The Borok and Montoil use as rattles calabashes filled with seeds of the monkey-bread tree. But the characteristic rattle of Nigeria is a calabash covered with netting, pieces of bone, hard wood, or the stones of wild fruit trees being strung between the meshes. These rattles are in use among the Nungu, Ninzam, Mada, Mama, and Jarawa, and they are generally regarded with religious awe. Iron rattles are also worn on the legs by dancers. The Borom use a whistle as a signal to join battle. It is of a type found among Nilotic and South-West Congo tribes (*e.g.* Kasai).

# IX

## ETHNOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

In this ethnographical account we have attempted to present an analysis of the main types of culture found in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. When we come to draw together the cultural threads with a view to arriving at definite ethnological conclusions, we are involved in a tangle of difficulties. The absence of natural barriers has laid the country open to cultural waves from all directions. Invading tribes have swept over the land, and joined with the existing tribes to form bastard peoples of ill-defined racial types. The linguistic confusion is almost without parallel. There is an absence of contemporary historical records, and such traditions as exist are likely to lead us astray. Ethnological conclusions must therefore remain indefinite, and the following general remarks are much in the nature of conjecture.

If we approach the subject of culture transmission from the linguistic side we are faced with two possibilities as regards the chronological order of the earliest strata. On the one hand it might appear that the western Sudanic-speaking peoples represent the oldest stock. Then came a Semi-Bantu invasion, with a speech containing grammatical forms more complicated than those of the Sudanic languages, a speech older than Bantu, with prefixes not yet regularized (as in Bantu). This Semi-Bantu influx appears to have come from the east, and the peoples who took part in it had probably been in contact with some non-Negro influence. The real Bantu, with the exception perhaps of the Jarawa, do not appear to have influenced the Northern Provinces so directly as the Southern.

Fig. 121. Jukun lads at play—Muri Province

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On the other hand the order of events may have been the reverse. We have already noted that a characteristic of the Semi-Bantu languages of the Sudan is the small area over which they extend. Small linguistic areas are synonymous with inaccessibility to outside ideas, and it is particularly noticeable that in the Northern Provinces the most inaccessible areas (*e.g.* the Bauchi Plateau) are Semi-Bantu speaking. It is more than probable therefore that widespread Sudanic languages such as Yoruba, Nupe, Ibo, and Mandingo are of late origin and due to conquest. Many of the Semi-Bantu tongues would, on this assumption, have disappeared. For this there is a parallel on the Gold Coast, where there is clear evidence that numerous smaller languages have been swallowed up by Fanti within the last four hundred years.

The third linguistic wave was the Hamitic from the north and east, carrying with it strata which produced the Hausa and Kanuri languages. Finally came the Semitic impulse, which was confined principally to Bornu. Prior to the nineteenth century communities of Arabic origin had merged to some extent with the Beri-Beri, but it was not until the time of Al Kanemi that the Arabic-speaking Shuwa became one of the dominant peoples of Bornu.

When we turn to the examination of the culture complex itself we find numerous features suggestive of a variety of foreign influences. Mummification and certain burial practices, the manufacture of glass, the West African harp, long-horned cattle, rice, maize, the custom of king-killing, beliefs relating to the soul (*e.g.* multiple soul), would seem to point to connection with Egypt. The vessels found by Frobenius in Yoruba country

suggest that this connection existed as early as 500 B.C. The bronze vessels reported from Baule on the Ivory Coast, together with the native traditions, indicate that Egyptians in those early times penetrated to West Africa in the search for gold. The Aro-Chuku culture is regarded by many as having its source in Egypt, and it would appear that certain features of the Jukun culture have a similar origin.

The Ethiopian rulers of Napata (a name still found in Nigeria), who founded the twenty-fifth dynasty, may easily have extended their influence to the central Sudan. One of these rulers was Shabaka, the King So of the Bible, and it is possible that from him the early inhabitants of Nigeria derived their name of "So." These prehistoric So were reputed to be men of giant stature, who wielded enormous hoes, and built deeper and better cemented wells than can be made by the natives of to-day. Curiously enough there is in East Africa an identical tradition of invaders known as the Maanthinle. The Maanthinle were also of giant stature, their hoes are said to have been so large that no native of to-day could wield one, and they were renowned for the wells they dug, some of which were cut through solid rock. They came from Abyssinia, and are said to have been Christians.[1]

In this connection we may also note that there was in early times a constant infiltration of Semites into Abyssinia from southern Arabia, and we are thus, perhaps, entitled to trace through Abyssinia the various traditions which connect the ruling families of many Nigerian tribes with the Yemen of Arabia. That these ruling families were Hamites or Semito-Hamites seems certain, and it is clear

[1] See the *Geographical Journal* for November 1921, "The Inhabitants of Jubaland."

that they introduced a culture far in advance of that of the Negroes of the time. We find the same phenomenon among the tribes of East Africa, where the invading Hamites are believed (by Mr. Roscoe and others) to have been of Galla origin. That some Galla may have found their way into Nigeria is not improbable, and would seem to be suggested by the title which three Nigerian tribes with marked Hamitic strains bear to this day—the Igara or I-Gala, the Agalawa, and the Ngala.

The Jukun-Yoruba culture complex presents many striking similarities with that of the Shilluk—a tribe belonging to the Egyptian Sudan. The custom of king-killing is common to both. The person of the king was divine. He controlled the rain-supply. As among the Shilluk, so also among the Jukun, old women played a part in looking after the shrine of the god, and the harvest festival was performed at the royal graveside. Oshalo was the third king of the Shilluk, while Oshala is the name of a Yoruba god. An alternative name for the Yoruba god is Obatala, which means "lord of the white cloth." Among the Shilluk the image of the god Nyakang was kept under a white cloth.

It would seem probable then that the Jukun, Yoruba, and possibly also the Nupe, shared with the Shilluk to some considerable extent a common culture which had non-Negro features. We have seen further that the early Hausa states appear to have had some connection with the Copts or tribes of the Nile Valley. The condition of Egypt during the eighth and ninth centuries of our era would perhaps best explain this connection. Egypt had fallen under the domination of Arabs. Between 828 and 837 the Copts and various Arab elements rebelled against the Arab deputy of the Caliph of Baghdad. To suppress

this rising the Caliph, using an army largely composed of Turks, drove many of the discontented tribes into the Libyan desert. Some elements of these tribes, speaking an Arabized Hamitic language, may have found their way via Bilma into northern Nigeria, where they coalesced with the Semi-Bantu speaking Negroes. A movement such as this would account for the large proportion of Semitic roots which we find in the Hausa and allied languages. The Semitic influence may, however, date to days long prior to the rise of Muhammadanism, for a tradition current throughout the Sudan would seem to indicate that white " infidels " held, in the early centuries of our era, the chief power in some at least of the Sudanic states, and were of Semitic origin. Whether these rulers were Palestinian Jews, or Semito-negroid Christians from the Nile valley, or whether they were the descendants of Carthaginians, cannot now be determined.

With regard to possible influences from other directions the existence of the duodecimal system of numeration (see p. 142) may point to an early connection with Babylonian or Sumerian peoples. The use of the spear as a sacred symbol reminds us of the sacred spear of Merodach. Nor is it beyond the bounds of possibility that the Hittites penetrated to West Africa. We know from inscriptions that they sent expeditions to the west for tin, and one of the words by which they seem to have described this metal was *kuza*, the Hausa word for tin to-day.

The head-hunting rites of many of the Nigerian tribes would seem to suggest an ancient connection with the culture of Idonesia, which was apparently also the home of the banana and xylophone.

That there was some infiltration of Mongolian blood would also appear to be indicated. This is suggested by

Fig. 122. Two warriors of Kanam, Borom tribe —Bauchi Province

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the physical appearance of many Jukun and Nupe,[1] and it is noteworthy that one of the masks representing the Igala chief is characteristically Mongoloid. It may be fanciful to suggest a remote connection between Chinese and the monosyllabic languages of the Sudan, but we can hardly fail to be struck by the Chinese character of many Nigerian tribal and place names (*e.g.* Pankshin, Hos, Jos, Wapang, and Wung). The improbability of an influence so distant having penetrated to West Africa is not so great as might be supposed, for there are many periods within historical times when Mongolian conquerors are known to have reached the confines of Africa. On the other hand, the wide distribution in Africa of the Mongoloid type—it is conspicuous among the Hottentots, "Strandloopers" Bushmen, and some of the Nyassa and Abyssinian tribes—would suggest that it is a primitive element.

In conclusion, we may note that there is clear evidence of culture transmission from the region of the Mediterranean. Stuhlmann has dealt fully with this subject, and we need only mention here that there are very evident traces in the decorative arts, and in architecture, of the influence of Rome. Some of the houses to be seen in Yoruba and Igbede country are manifestly of the same design as the Roman *impluvium*. Pottery dug up on the Bauchi Plateau is often of the classical pattern. The wearing of greaves on the legs, and the use of short two-edged swords, are also suggestive of some distant Roman influence. In the Southern Provinces, further, the small clay lamps of the Edo are strongly reminiscent of those in use among the Romans. These features of Roman culture were no doubt transmitted to Nigeria by the Berber tribes

[1] See *e.g.* frontispiece, Vol. I.

of the north; but Egypt may also have been the medium.

It would appear, then, that the Western Sudanic group received in early times from the direction of Kordofan or Abyssinia an infusion of Nilotic and Hamitic blood; while the Central Sudanic group was subjected to later Hamitic influences from Nubia and North Africa. The Bantoid group occupying the hill districts was apparently less directly affected by this diffusion of foreign blood and civilization.

Such would seem to have been the main streams of non-Negro culture which have flowed into West Africa. But we must constantly keep in view the danger of ascribing too much of existing African culture to external sources. For there is a growing opinion among ethnologists that tropical Africa was the cradle of the Universe, and that from the Pigmy Negro all other human types were evolved. Much of the culture, therefore, which we have been accustomed to regard as non-Negro may in fact have originated within the Dark Continent.

# *PART II*

# THE CENSUS

Introduction.

A. Area, Population, Density, and Race Statistics.

B. Age and Sex.

C. Occupations.

D. Civil Condition.

E. Religious Statistics.

F. Education.

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# INTRODUCTION

*Previous Censuses.* As the administration of the Northern Provinces was only assumed by the British Government in 1900, and the country not brought fully under control until some years later, no attempt was made to take a census in 1901. An early estimate of the population placed the numbers at twenty million. This estimate was soon reduced by half, and in 1904 the Government reckoned the population at 9,161,700, the proportion of females to 1,000 males being put at the high figure of 1,393. This estimate was further reduced in 1905 to 8,783,000, and in 1906 to 7,164,751.

For the decennial census of 1911 the figures returned by Residents totalled 8,115,981, but, in forwarding this return to the Secretary of State, the Acting Governor expressed the opinion that the native population of certain provinces had been under-estimated, and that a more correct return for the total population would be 9,274,981. The 1911 census was thus merely a rough estimate of population by sex. It was forwarded on a single sheet of paper. No returns of occupations, religion, or education were rendered, and no attempt was made to differentiate adults from non-adults.

The census of 1921 represents a very considerable advance. While it is not pretended that the count made of the natives in the provinces is anything more than approximately accurate, the statistics nevertheless furnish a great amount of valuable information. The non-adult population is now shown, as well as statistics dealing with the occupations of the people, their religion, and the extent of their education. It is hoped that the present

report will serve as a working basis for the accumulation of increasingly accurate statistics.

*Scope and Method of Taking the Census.* The census was taken in two parts : (*a*) by Provinces, (*b*) by Townships.

(*a*) In the Provinces, in view of the vast area involved, and the paucity of the staff engaged in its administration, a simultaneous enumeration was not possible. A period of two months (March 24th to May 24th) was allowed for the collection of statistics from each district, and a standard procedure was laid down by a Government circular. The Native Administrations gave a ready assistance, the existing staff of enumerators, ordinarily employed for the assessment of taxation, being augmented where this was necessary. The enumerators were instructed to obtain full information as to the occupations, language, religion, and degree of education of all natives, by tribes, within their area. No attempt was made to obtain accurately the ages of the people, as Negroes have hazy ideas on this subject ; any closer approximation than that actually attempted, viz. a division into adult and non-adult, would have been wholly unreliable. Directions were given, however, by which children up to fifteen years of age could be uniformly classified, according to sex, with some degree of accuracy. No information was obtained as to civil condition, as the collection of these statistics would have thrown a great deal of additional work on a staff already overburdened. Residents were also asked for a return of all towns over 1,000 inhabitants, of missions, mining companies, and trading firms, lepers, live-stock, and an estimate of the number of acres under cultivation. (*b*) In the municipal areas known as townships it was possible to carry out on April 24th a simultaneous enumeration of

all the inhabitants. It was also possible in these areas to obtain fairly accurate information as to age and civil condition. Each householder was required to fill up a form for his household, stating the name, nationality or tribe, sub-tribe, age and sex, civil condition, degree of education, occupation, and religion of each member of his household. Similar forms were issued to all non-natives who were residing outside the townships.

*Tabulation of Results.* The initial tabulation of the results was carried out by the various local census officers ; the final tabulation by the Census Commissioner, who was assisted, for the greater part of the year, by a single clerk.

*General Accuracy of Statistics.* As intercensal counts of the population have of recent years been regularly made in the Provinces by the European Political Staff and the Native Administrations, with a view to the assessment of taxation, Residents were in a position to check to some extent the decennial census returns of population. It will be readily understood, however, that with an administrative staff of only a hundred Europeans, already overburdened with multifarious duties, close supervision of all the details of enumeration was not to be expected. The distances to be travelled are so great, and the means of rapid transport so deficient, that a district officer might spend an entire year enumerating all the individuals resident in his district. The major part of the work of enumeration had therefore to be left to a small body of Muslim *malamai*, possessed of only a moderate degree of literacy, who carried out the count with the assistance of the local authorities. Many natives were no doubt omitted from the count, either unintentionally, or deliberately with a view to the concealment (as they thought) of their taxable capacity. In some Provinces it is apparent

that the number of non-adult males was overstated with the same intention, for whereas the female adults are in excess of the male to a disproportionate degree, the female non-adults are correspondingly fewer than the male. Moreover, in some pagan areas the tribes are only partially under control, and in such cases the census taken was little better than an approximation based on counts made in a number of villages.

Numerous clerical errors, sometimes extending to hundreds of thousands, were made by the enumerators and overlooked by the census officers, but it is believed that these have now been all eliminated.

The collection of occupation statistics occasioned, as in every census, the greatest difficulty. Statistics were required for each tribe. They were not in the first instance always obtained in this way. There are no doubt many omissions, especially as regards the occupations of women, which, in some districts, were not obtained at all. The education statistics were also in some cases defective, as the numbers shown of those imperfectly educated or attending school were fewer than the school statistics provided by the Education Department and the Mission Societies. The religious statistics are approximately correct, but it should be borne in mind that many who call themselves Muslims are, in most respects, still animists.

None of the above difficulties were experienced in the enumeration of the township populations. The numbers who reside in townships being small—totalling only twenty thousand—they could be accurately reckoned; but as the conditions of township life are wholly artificial, the statistics are only of value as illustrating these artificial conditions.

No systematic enumeration was made of the mandated territory, the returns shown being based on estimates recently made by political officers during the ordinary course of their work.

The cost of taking the census was about £1,000.

## A. Area, Population, Density, and Race Statistics

1. *Area and Density.* The area of the Northern Provinces is 254,237 square miles, the total population is 9,998,314, and the average density is 39·33 persons per square mile. Compared with European or Indian standards of density this figure is very low. In the Indian Empire in 1911 there were 175 persons to the square mile. Table No. 3 shows the density variations as between the provinces, and it will be seen that while Kano Province has an average of 116·7 persons per square mile, Kontagora has a corresponding ratio of only 6·7. From the same table it will appear that 34·5 of the total population is centred in Kano Province.

In the Townships the number of persons per square mile is 893. The total population of the provinces is shown as 9,978,122, and of the townships as 20,192. The township population is thus only 0·2 per cent of the total population.

2. *Urban and Rural Areas.*[1] One of the most striking features in the distribution of the population of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria is the comparative absence of large towns. There are no towns with a population

[1] The distinction here given between "urban" and "rural" applies to residence only and not to occupation: the majority of urban residents are engaged in agriculture.

exceeding 50,000 inhabitants[1]; only three with over 20,000; and only forty-four over 5,000. In comparing the urban with the rural population, if we classify as urban the inhabitants of towns over 5,000 persons, the percentage of the urban population is only 5·2, as against 94·8 rural. The Yoruba Province of Ilorin shows the highest figure for urban population, being over fifteen times greater than the corresponding figure for Munshi or Kontagora Province. It will also be observed from Table 6 that, if we can rely on the figures taken at the 1911 census, there is a general tendency towards increase of population in the large cities.

3. *Race.* The inhabitants were throughout classified into three main groups, viz. natives, native foreigners, and non-natives. The definition of each of these terms has already been given in the Introduction.

Table No. 7 gives the age and sex distribution of each of the groups by Province and Township.

It will be observed that the natives total 9,994,515, the native foreigners 2,631, and the non-natives 1,168. The native foreigners and non-natives therefore together constitute less than 0·04 of the total population. (It is to be noted that where large sections of native foreign tribes, *e.g.* the Bagirmi of the French Sudan, have become permanently settled in Nigeria these have been reckoned as natives.)

No close census was made of the natives of the Southern Provinces who were living in the Northern Provinces at the time of the census, but a rough estimate shows their numbers at a little over 20,000. The figures given for the mandated territory were based on the latest available estimates made by political officers on the spot.

Table No. 8 shows the numerical strength by Provinces

[1] But see footnote (1) Table 6.

of the most numerous and typical tribes, together with the proportion per centum of these tribes to the total native population. The striking feature of this table is that the Hausa-speaking peoples constitute more than a third of the total native population, and that the Hausa and Fulani combined account for 53 per cent. of all natives. The Yoruba-speaking peoples (including the Igara) number only 6·4 per cent.

Table 9 gives the proportion of each tribe per thousand of the population. For the purpose of these and subsequent tribal tables of a similar character the term Beri-Beri is to be understood as including the Kanuri and Kanembu tribes of Bornu ; the term Fulani includes the Bororoje, Tejani, etc. Under Hausa are included the Hausa-speaking Agalawa, Gimbanawa, Maguzawa, Shirawa, Teshinawa, and Wangarawa, in addition to the well-recognized Hausa groups such as the Hausa-speaking peoples of Kano, Katsina, Gobir, Zamfara, Kebbi, Daura, Hadeija, etc. The Yoruba-speaking Igara have, however, been shown separately from the Yoruba, and include the Okpoto. The term Yoruba thus embraces the Aworo, Ayere, Bunu, Egba, Ekiti, and Akoko, Igbola, Igbona, Igbede, Ijebu, Owe, and Yagba. Under Nupe are included the Benu, Bini, Batachi, Ebe, Gana-gana, Gupa, Kede, and Kupa. It will be observed that the Hausa and Fulani are to be found in every province in considerable proportions, and that the same is true, to a lesser degree, of the Beri-Beri.

Table 10 shows the proportions in which one thousand of each of the principal tribes are distributed in the various provinces. More than half of the Hausa and Fulani tribes are centred in Kano Province, while the Yoruba are almost wholly domiciled in Ilorin Province.

Table 11 shows the numbers of non-natives, native-foreigners, and natives resident in the townships. It will be observed that the Hausa far outnumber any other single tribe, but that the Yoruba show a considerably higher ratio in proportion to their numbers, the reason being that the Yoruba are more suitably educated for employment in the municipalities.

Table 12 gives the totals for all the native tribes, whether resident in provinces or townships, and Tables 13 and 14 similarly give figures for native foreigners and non-natives. The preponderance of English among the non-natives is noteworthy, and so also is the fact that 39 per cent. of non-natives are resident in the tin-producing province of Bauchi.

Finally, Table 15 shows the proportion of each group or tribe to 10,000 of the population.

TABLE 1.

*Provinces and Townships at each Census.*

| *Year* | *Provinces* | *Townships*[1] | *Year* | *Provinces* | *Townships*[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1911 | Basa | — | 1921 | Bauchi | Ilorin |
| | Bauchi | Lokoja | | Bornu | Jos |
| | Bornu | — | | Ilorin | Kaduna |
| | Ilorin | Zungeru | | Kano | Kano |
| | Kabba | | | Kontagora | — |
| | Kano | | | Munshi | Lokoja |
| | Kontagora | | | Muri | Minna |
| | Muri | | | Nasarawa | Zaria |
| | Nasarawa | | | Nupe | |
| | Niger | | | Sokoto | |
| | Sokoto | | | Yola | |
| | Yola | | | Zaria | |
| | Zaria | | | | |

[1] In 1911 the townships were termed "cantonments."

## Table 2.

*Population, Sex, and Density at each Census.*

| *Year* | *Total number of persons* | *Males* | *Females* | *Density of population per sq. mile* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1911 | 8,115,981 [1] | 3,383,457 | 4,732,524 | 31·74 |
| 1921 | 9,998,314 | 4,840,757 | 5,157,557 | 39·33 |

[1] This was the total of the figures submitted by the Residents. The Acting Governor considered that 9,274,981 would be a more accurate estimate. In the *Blue Book* for 1911 the coloured native population was therefore returned as 9,269,000.

## Table 3.

*The Provinces: their Area, Population, Density, and Percentages of Total Area and Total Population.*

| *Provinces* | *Area in square miles* | *Persons* | *Persons per square mile* | *Percentage of total area* | *Percentage of total population* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi - | 23,700 | 954,184 | 40·3 | 9·3 | 9·6 |
| Bornu - - | 33,600 | 759,341 | 22·6 | 13·2 | 7·6 |
| Ilorin - - | 11,770 | 574,303 | 48·8 | 4·6 | 5·8 |
| Kano - - | 29,500 | 3,443,207 | 116·7 | 11·6 | 34·5 |
| Kontagora - | 27,800 | 187,493 | 6·7 | 10·9 | 1·9 |
| Munshi - | 16,936 | 776,471 | 45·9 | 6·7 | 7·8 |
| Muri - - | 19,698 | 261,735 | 13·3 | 7·8 | 2·6 |
| Nasarawa - | 16,710 | 322,123 | 19·3 | 6·6 | 3·2 |
| Nupe - - | 17,003 | 361,960 | 21·2 | 6·7 | 3·6 |
| Sokoto - | 32,600 | 1,695,182 | 51·9 | 12·8 | 17·0 |
| Yola - - | 11,600 | 271,031 | 23·4 | 4·6 | 2·7 |
| Zaria - - | 13,320 | 371,092 | 27·9 | 5·2 | 3·7 |
| All Provinces | 254,237 | 9,978,122 | 39·25 | 100 | 100 |

## Table 4.

*The Townships: Area, Population, and Density.*

| *Townships* | *Area in square miles* | *Population* | *Persons per square mile* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ilorin | 1·2 | 512 | 427 |
| Jos | 1·5 | 720 | 480 |
| Kaduna (including Kaduna South) | 8·6 | 5,438 | 632 |
| Kano | 4·8 | 4,670 | 973 |
| Lokoja | 1·6 | 2,099 | 1,312 |
| Minna | 2·2 | 2,962 | 1,346 |
| Zaria | 2·7 | 3,791 | 1,404 |
| All Townships | 22·6 | 20,192 | 893 |

## Table 5.

*Number of Towns in each Province with a Population of* 1,000 *and over.*

| *Province* | *Number of towns* | 1,000 to 2,000 | 2,000 to 5,000 | 5,000 to 10,000 | 10,000 to 20,000 | 20,000 to 50,000 | *Over* 50,000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 151 | 103 | 42 | 6 | — | — | — |
| Bornu | 80 | 41 | 36 | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Ilorin | 87 | 56 | 23 | 6 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Kano | 305 | 244 | 56 | 2 | 2 | 1 | — |
| Kontagora | 27 | 19 | 8 | — | — | — | — |
| Munshi | 5 | 5 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Muri | 31 | 21 | 9 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Nasarawa | 12 | 3 | 9 | — | — | — | — |
| Nupe | 23 | 14 | 7 | 1 | — | 1 | — |
| Sokoto | 278 | 151 | 104 | 19 | 3 | — | — |
| Yola | 34 | 29 | 4 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Zaria | 54 | 26 | 24 | 3 | 1 | — | — |
| All Provinces | 1,087 | 712 | 322 | 41 | 8 | 3 | — |

## Table 6.

*Towns containing over 20,000 Inhabitants by Province, and Percentages of Increase or Decrease. Other Important Towns.*

| *Province* | *Town (including township)* | *Population* | | *Percentage of increase or decrease* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1911 | 1921 | |
| | Kano | 39,368 | 49,938 | 26·8 increase |
| | Ilorin | 36,342 | 38,668 [1] | 6·4 ,, |
| | Bida | 24,793 | 29,848 | 20·4 ,, |
| | Zaria | 26,600 | 22,680 | 14·7 decrease |
| | Sokoto | 21,676 | 19,335 [2] | 10·8 ,, |
| All Towns - | | 148,779 | 160,469 | 7·8 increase |

The figures for other important towns were :

| *Towns* | *Province* | *Population* |
|---|---|---|
| Katsina - - - - | Kano | 17,489 |
| Shehuri - - - - | Bornu | 14,272 |
| Hadeija - - - - | Kano | 12,671 |
| Offa - - - - - | Ilorin | 10,862 |
| Gusau - - - - | Sokoto | 10,412 |
| Wurno - - - - | Sokoto | 10,349 |
| Galadi - - - - | Sokoto | 9,421 |
| Jega - - - - | Sokoto | 9,341 |
| Kaltungo - - - - | Bauchi | 8,347 |
| Bauchi - - - - | Bauchi | 8,329 |
| Lokoja (including township) | Ilorin | 8,299 |
| Gumel - - - - | Kano | 7,571 |
| Birnin Kebbi - - - | Sokoto | 7,150 |
| Yola - - - - | Yola | 5,836 |
| Kontagora - - - | Kontagora | 4,165 |
| Ibi - - - - - | Muri | 3,547 |
| Maiduguri - - - | Bornu | 2,002 |

[1] A more recent census of Ilorin city (taken in 1922) showed the population as 83,669, an increase on the 1921 figures of over 100 per cent.

[2] Excluding Sokoto township, for which no separate figures were rendered.

TABLE 7. *Population by Provinces and Townships, showing by Age and Sex Natives of Nigeria, Native Foreigners, and Non-Natives.*

| Province or Township | Natives | | | | Native foreigners | | | | Non-natives | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Adults | | Non-adults | | Adults | | Non-adults | | Adults | | Non-adults | | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Femls. | Males | Femls. | Males | Femls. | Males | F'mls. | |
| *Provinces :* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bauchi - - | 299,871 | 324,575 | 174,654 | 154,695 | 101 | 23 | 3 | 3 | 224 | 34 | 1 | — | 954,184 |
| Bornu - - | 238,719 | 288,340 | 125,228 | 106,625 | 218 | 92 | 55 | 34 | 29 | 1 | — | — | 759,341 |
| Ilorin - - | 157,254 | 208,535 | 106,553 | 101,814 | 51 | 16 | 6 | 6 | 53 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 574,303 |
| Kano - - | 911,265 | 1,119,733 | 735,677 | 676,394 | 38 | 35 | 19 | 21 | 24 | 1 | — | — | 3,443,207 |
| Kontagora - | 49,442 | 47,583 | 47,904 | 42,536 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 10 | 1 | — | — | 187,493 |
| Munshi - - | 240,100 | 243,604 | 146,424 | 146,238 | 36 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 40 | 11 | — | 1 | 776,471 |
| Muri - - - | 87,123 | 93,847 | 40,396 | 40,107 | 99 | 74 | 25 | 24 | 27 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 261,735 |
| Nasarawa - - | 120,342 | 118,462 | 41,412 | 41,837 | 20 | 3 | — | 2 | 43 | 2 | — | — | 322,123 |
| Nupe - - | 129,394 | 138,859 | 45,134 | 48,452 | 47 | 15 | 6 | 8 | 35 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 361,960 |
| Sokoto - - | 424,466 | 547,210 | 390,136 | 333,308 | 19 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 33 | 2 | — | 1 | 1,695,182 |
| Yola - - - | 89,734 | 103,233 | 37,622 | 40,382 | 17 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 23 | 7 | — | — | 271,031 |
| Zaria - - - | 132,299 | 129,171 | 55,446 | 54,078 | 50 | 14 | 9 | 4 | 14 | 5 | 2 | — | 371,092 |
| *Townships :* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ilorin - - | 231 | 133 | 59 | 47 | 12 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 17 | 1 | — | — | 512 |
| Jos - - - | 367 | 177 | 43 | 25 | 50 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 37 | 2 | — | — | 720 |
| Kaduna - - | 3,007 | 1,473 | 262 | 303 | 159 | 56 | 57 | 38 | 71 | 12 | — | — | 5,438 |
| Kano - - | 2,233 | 1,297 | 246 | 224 | 327 | 104 | 36 | 38 | 140 | 17 | 7 | 1 | 4,670 |
| Lokoja - - | 1,029 | 577 | 170 | 149 | 74 | 18 | 15 | 10 | 54 | 3 | — | — | 2,099 |
| Minna - - | 1,436 | 957 | 218 | 189 | 91 | 15 | 9 | 7 | 29 | 10 | 1 | — | 2,962 |
| Zaria - - - | 1,808 | 1,208 | 198 | 236 | 134 | 43 | 22 | 38 | 92 | 10 | — | 2 | 3,791 |
| Total - - | 2,890,120 | 3,368,974 | 1,947,782 | 1,787,639 | 1,551 | 539 | 290 | 251 | 995 | 144 | 19 | 10 | 9,998,314 |

*Totals.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Natives of Northern Provinces - | 9,974,471 |
| Natives of Southern Provinces - | 20,044 |
| Native foreigners - - - - | 2,631 |
| Non-natives - - - - - | 1,168 |
| Grand total - - - | 9,998,314 |
| 1911 total - - - | 8,115,981 |
| 1921 increase - - - | 1,882,333 |

*Mandated Territory.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dikwa - - - - - - | 194,000 |
| North Adamawa District - - - | 38,869 |
| South Adamawa District - - - | 28,800 |
| Total - - - - | 261,669 |

Grand total (Northern Provinces and Mandated Territory) - 10,259,983

## Table 8.

*Native Population of each Province by Principal Tribes, with Percentages to Total Native Population.*

| | *Beri-Beri* | *Fulani* | *Hausa* | *Igara* | *Munshi* | *Nupe* | *Shuwa Arab* | *Yoruba* | *Others* | *Totals* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi - | 52,063 | 252,088 | 97,803 | 1 | 5 | 153 | 255 | 1,000 | 550,427 | 953,795 |
| Bornu - | 347,794 | 31,873 | 6,598 | — | 5 | 18 | 32,469 | 126 | 340,029 | 758,912 |
| Ilorin - | 485 | 11,585 | 7,435 | — | — | 64,652 | — | 380,752 | 109,247 | 574,156 |
| Kano - - | 203,181 | 1,112,004 | 1,958,808 | — | — | 85 | 9,007 | 85 | 159,899 | 3,443,069 |
| Kontagora - | 718 | 11,443 | 23,170 | — | 17 | 8,477 | 1 | 471 | 143,168 | 187,465 |
| Munshi - | 229 | 283 | 4,881 | 231,254 | 445,521 | 1,875 | 12 | 561 | 91,750 | 776,366 |
| Muri - - | 1,416 | 31,922 | 13,328 | 2 | 15 | 608 | 12 | 151 | 214,019 | 261,473 |
| Nasarawa - | 972 | 11,098 | 24,701 | 5,332 | 3 | 3,382 | 129 | 364 | 276,072 | 322,053 |
| Nupe - - | 947 | 7,559 | 21,212 | 42 | — | 214,140 | — | 6,209 | 111,730 | 361,839 |
| Sokoto - | 14,927 | 367,053 | 946,178 | — | 1 | 52,944 | 93 | 5,072 | 308,852 | 1,695,120 |
| Yola - - | 11,130 | 79,141 | 12,176 | 2 | 12 | 130 | 505 | 32 | 167,843 | 270,971 |
| Zaria - - | 2,791 | 34,370 | 220,791 | — | 5 | 866 | 153 | 491 | 111,527 | 370,994 |
| Totals - | 636,653 | 1,950,419 | 3,337,081 | 236,633 | 445,584 | 347,330 | 42,636 | 395,314 | 2,584,563 | 9,976,213 |
| Percentage to total population | 6·4 | 19·5 | 33·4 | 2·4 | 4·5 | 3·5 | ·4 | 4·0 | 25·9 | 100 |

TABLE 9.

*Proportion of each of the Principal Tribes per thousand of the Total Population of each Province.*

| | *Beri-Beri* | *Fulani* | *Hausa* | *Igara* | *Munshi* | *Nupe* | *Shuwa* | *Yoruba* | *Others* | *All tribes* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi - - - | 54·6 | 264·3 | 102·6 | — | — | 0·2 | 0·3 | 1·0 | 577·0 | 1,000 |
| Bornu - - - | 458·2 | 42·0 | 8·7 | — | — | — | 42·8 | 0·2 | 448·1 | 1,000 |
| Ilorin - - - | 0·9 | 20·2 | 12·9 | — | — | 112·6 | — | 663·1 | 190·3 | 1,000 |
| Kano - - - | 59 | 323 | 568·9 | — | — | — | 2·6 | — | 46·5 | 1,000 |
| Kontagora - - | 3·8 | 61·0 | 123·7 | — | — | 45·2 | — | 2·5 | 763·8 | 1,000 |
| Munshi - - - | 0·3 | 0·4 | 6·3 | 297·8 | 573·9 | 2·4 | — | 0·7 | 118·2 | 1,000 |
| Muri - - - | 5·4 | 122·1 | 51·0 | — | — | 2·3 | — | 0·6 | 818·6 | 1,000 |
| Nasarawa - - - | 3·0 | 34·5 | 76·7 | 16·5 | — | 10·5 | 0·4 | 1·1 | 857·3 | 1,000 |
| Nupe - - - | 2·6 | 20·9 | 58·6 | 0·1 | — | 591·8 | — | 17·2 | 308·8 | 1,000 |
| Sokoto - - - | 8·8 | 216·5 | 558·2 | — | — | 31·2 | 0·1 | 3·0 | 182·2 | 1,000 |
| Yola - - - | 41·1 | 292·1 | 44·9 | — | — | 0·5 | 1·9 | 0·1 | 619·4 | 1,000 |
| Zaria - - - | 7·5 | 92·6 | 595·2 | — | — | 2·3 | 0·4 | 1·3 | 300·7 | 1,000 |

## Table 10.

*Distribution of the Principal Tribes in the Provinces.*
*Proportions per thousand.*

| | *Beri-Beri* | *Fulani* | *Hausa* | *Igara* | *Munshi* | *Nupe* | *Shuwa Arabs* | *Yoruba* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi - - - | 81·8 | 129·3 | 29·3 | — | — | ·5 | 6 | 2·5 |
| Bornu - - - | 546·3 | 16·3 | 2 | — | — | — | 761·5 | ·3 |
| Ilorin - - - | ·8 | 5·9 | 2·2 | — | — | 186·1 | — | 963·2 |
| Kano - - - | 319·1 | 570·1 | 587 | — | — | ·3 | 211·2 | ·2 |
| Kontagora - - | 1·1 | 5·9 | 7 | — | — | 24·4 | — | 1·2 |
| Munshi - - - | ·4 | ·1 | 1·4 | 977·2 | 1,000 | 5·4 | ·3 | 1·4 |
| Muri - - - | 2·2 | 16·4 | 4 | — | — | 1·8 | ·3 | ·4 |
| Nasarawa - - | 1·5 | 5·7 | 7·4 | 22·6 | — | 9·7 | 3·0 | ·9 |
| Nupe - - - | 1·5 | 3·9 | 6·3 | ·2 | — | 616·5 | — | 15·7 |
| Sokoto - - - | 23·4 | 188·2 | 283·5 | — | — | 152·4 | 2·2 | 12·9 |
| Yola - - - | 17·5 | 40·6 | 3·7 | — | — | ·4 | 11·9 | ·1 |
| Zaria - - - | 4·4 | 17·6 | 66·2 | — | — | 2·5 | 3·6 | 1·2 |
| Totals - - | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 |

## Table II.

*Population of the Townships by Groups or Tribes.*

| *Township* | *Non-natives* | *Native foreigners* | *Beri-Beri* | *Fulani* | *Hausa* | *Igara* | *Munshi* | *Nupe* | *Shuwa (Arab)* | *Yoruba* | *Other natives* | *Total natives* | *Grand total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ilorin - | 18 | 24 | — | 6 | 57 | — | — | 12 | — | 381 | 14 | 470 | 512 |
| Jos - - | 39 | 69 | 25 | 62 | 287 | — | 4 | 20 | — | 56 | 158 | 612 | 720 |
| Kaduna - | 83 | 310 | 230 | 201 | 2,797 | 73 | — | 447 | 14 | 634 | 649 | 5,045 | 5,438 |
| Kano - | 165 | 505 | 269 | 149 | 1,326 | 28 | 3 | 220 | 12 | 1,478 | 515 | 4,000 | 4,670 |
| Lokoja - | 57 | 117 | 93 | 172 | 383 | 123 | 54 | 118 | 36 | 336 | 610 | 1,925 | 2,099 |
| Minna - | 40 | 122 | 52 | 79 | 1,014 | 13 | 2 | 532 | — | 646 | 462 | 2,800 | 2,962 |
| Zaria - | 104 | 237 | 169 | 202 | 999 | 8 | — | 329 | — | 1,148 | 595 | 3,450 | 3,791 |
| All Townships | 506 | 1,384 | 838 | 871 | 6,863 | 245 | 63 | 1,678 | 62 | 4,679 | 3,003 | 18,302 | 20,192 |

## TABLE 12.

*The Numerical Strength of each Native Tribe by Age and Sex.*

| *Tribe*[1] | *Province in which mainly domiciled* | *Adults* | | *Non-adults* | | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Males* | *Females* | *Males* | *Females* | |
| Abakwariga | Muri - | 181 | 171 | 197 | 136 | 685 |
| Achifawa - | Kontagora | 383 | 333 | 411 | 404 | 1,531 |
| Adarawa - | Sokoto - | 22,496 | 28,180 | 19,969 | 17,340 | 87,985 |
| Afawa - | Bauchi - | 2,093 | 2,479 | 1,014 | 952 | 6,538 |
| Afo - - | Nasarawa | 2,904 | 3,005 | 871 | 902 | 7,682 |
| Agalawa - | Kano - | 15,232 | 18,626 | 12,762 | 11,215 | 57,835 |
| Agatu - | Munshi & Nasarawa | 7,685 | 7,245 | 3,396 | 2,859 | 21,185 |
| Aike - - | Nasarawa | 146 | 137 | 34 | 37 | 354 |
| Amo - - | Bauchi & Zaria | 102 | 53 | 23 | 14 | 192 |
| Anaguta - | Bauchi - | 986 | 1,066 | 989 | 241 | 3,282 |
| Angas - | ,, - | 17,290 | 15,472 | 8,265 | 9,514 | 50,541 |
| Ankwe - | Bauchi, Muri and Nasarawa | 9,833 | 9,838 | 4,135 | 4,182 | 27,988 |
| Shuwa (Arab) | Bornu - | 13,857 | 16,713 | 6,245 | 5,883 | 42,698 |
| Arago - | Nasarawa & Muri | 4,205 | 4,374 | 1,645 | 1,682 | 11,906 |
| Arewa - | Sokoto - | 8,597 | 9,614 | 6,618 | 5,699 | 30,528 |
| Aruchi - | Nasarawa | 49 | 63 | 5 | 6 | 123 |
| Asbinawa - | Sokoto - | 1,928 | 2,287 | 1,327 | 1,087 | 6,629 |
| Auyokawa - | Kano - | 16,183 | 21,404 | 13,894 | 15,125 | 66,606 |
| Awok - | Bauchi - | 818 | 848 | 417 | 415 | 2,498 |
| Aworo - | Ilorin - | 2,121 | 2,271 | 725 | 609 | 5,726 |
| Ayu - - | Nasarawa | 1,274 | 1,348 | 314 | 353 | 3,289 |
| Ba - - | Bauchi - | 1,533 | 1,439 | 1,050 | 860 | 4,882 |
| Babur - | Bornu - | 5,932 | 7,479 | 4,496 | 4,435 | 22,342 |
| Bachama - | Yola - | 2,479 | 2,750 | 1,590 | 1,729 | 8,548 |
| Bagirmi - | Bornu - | 295 | 169 | 165 | 33 | 662 |
| Bakoberu - | Kontagora | 1,732 | 1,731 | 1,703 | 1,438 | 6,604 |
| Bambarawa | Bauchi - | 1,261 | 1,393 | 328 | 299 | 3,281 |
| Bangawa - | Kontagora | 1,025 | 967 | 1,056 | 1,065 | 4,113 |
| Bankalawa | Bauchi - | 4,253 | 3,917 | 2,643 | 3,262 | 14,075 |
| Barawa (or Mbarawa) | ,, - | 3,196 | 3,407 | 2,351 | 2,251 | 11,205 |

[1] Names not included in this table have been regarded (inaccurately, no doubt, in many cases) as belonging to subdivisions of tribes.

| Tribe | Province in which mainly domiciled | Adults | | Non-adults | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Baron - | Bauchi - | 1,720 | 1,651 | 687 | 777 | 4,835 |
| Basharawa | Muri & Bauchi | 480 | 689 | 218 | 186 | 1,573 |
| Basa - - | Nasarawa, Nupe & Munshi | 15,917 | 18,207 | 4,214 | 3,773 | 42,111 |
| Basa Komo | Munshi - | 4,387 | 4,780 | 1,605 | 1,533 | 12,305 |
| Basange - | ,, - | 4,449 | 3,587 | 2,117 | 1,521 | 11,674 |
| Basawa - | Kontagora | 375 | 395 | 394 | 363 | 1,527 |
| Bata - - | Yola - | 10,945 | 10,803 | 4,191 | 4,332 | 30,271 |
| Batachi - | Nupe - | 3,221 | 3,427 | 1,313 | 1,431 | 9,392 |
| Bauchi (or Baushi) | Nupe - | 1,116 | 956 | 432 | 393 | 2,897 |
| Baya - - | Yola - | 88 | 139 | 15 | 20 | 262 |
| Bede - - | Bornu & Kano | 13,448 | 14,867 | 6,716 | 6,375 | 41,406 |
| Belawa - | Muri & Bauchi | 566 | 680 | 245 | 139 | 1,630 |
| Benu - - | Nupe - | 1,466 | 1,628 | 592 | 703 | 4,389 |
| Berom (" Kibo ") | Bauchi - | 14,131 | 15,944 | 11,080 | 7,102 | 48,257 |
| Binawa - | Zaria - | 171 | 168 | 69 | 39 | 447 |
| Bini - - | Nupe - | 7,558 | 9,001 | 2,183 | 2,350 | 21,092 |
| Bolewa - | Bornu & Bauchi | 9,569 | 11,444 | 6,094 | 5,467 | 32,574 |
| Borgawa - | Kontagora & Sokoto | 3,945 | 4,027 | 3,215 | 2,838 | 14,025 |
| Buduma - | Bornu - | 121 | 110 | 26 | 22 | 279 |
| Bula (Mbula) | Yola - | 2,886 | 3,512 | 1,461 | 1,482 | 9,341 |
| Bunawa - | Sokoto - | 156 | 150 | 117 | 94 | 517 |
| Bunu - | Ilorin - | 494 | 627 | 148 | 136 | 1,405 |
| Bura - - | Bornu & Yola | 18,090 | 22,917 | 21,081 | 21,046 | 83,134 |
| Burum (or Borom or Burumawa) | Bauchi - | 6,834 | 8,080 | 4,018 | 3,738 | 22,670 |
| Busawa - | Kontagora & Sokoto | 857 | 998 | 712 | 608 | 3,175 |
| Butawa (including Ningi) | Bauchi - | 1,966 | 2,473 | 1,246 | 1,297 | 6,982 |
| Buzu - - | Sokoto, Kano & Zaria | 10,201 | 12,350 | 8,124 | 6,844 | 37,519 |
| Bwol - - | Muri - | 460 | 500 | 148 | 152 | 1,260 |
| Chamawa - | Bauchi - | 1,146 | 1,085 | 627 | 705 | 3,563 |

| Tribe | Province in which mainly domiciled | Adults | | Non-adults | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Chamba | Muri & Munshi | 6,268 | 6,531 | 3,415 | 3,357 | 19,571 |
| Chawai | Zaria | 2,323 | 2,110 | 1,088 | 1,115 | 6,636 |
| Chomo | Muri | 39 | 41 | 27 | 8 | 115 |
| Dagara | Bornu | 49 | 51 | 20 | 10 | 130 |
| Dakakari (or Dakarawa) | Kontagora & Sokoto | 12,526 | 11,880 | 11,321 | 11,267 | 46,994 |
| Dama | Yola | 169 | 194 | 110 | 56 | 529 |
| Dandawa | Ilorin & Kontagora | 220 | 216 | 225 | 178 | 839 |
| Denawa | Bauchi | 2,423 | 3,298 | 1,511 | 1,245 | 8,477 |
| Dibiri | Bornu | 218 | 301 | 78 | 58 | 655 |
| Dimuk | Muri | 3,055 | 3,660 | 801 | 1,734 | 9,250 |
| Dodi | Zaria | 269 | 258 | 137 | 156 | 820 |
| Doro | Muri | 55 | 58 | 42 | 29 | 184 |
| Dukawa | Kontagora | 3,061 | 3,130 | 3,180 | 2,864 | 12,235 |
| Dumawa | Bauchi | 110 | 172 | 62 | 56 | 400 |
| Dungi | Zaria | 166 | 112 | 31 | 40 | 349 |
| Edo Bini | Southern Provinces | 100 | 35 | 18 | 20 | 173 |
| Edo Eshan | Southern Provinces | 2 | — | — | — | 2 |
| Edo Kukuruku | Southern Provinces | 283 | 251 | 53 | 30 | 617 |
| Edo Sobo | Southern Provinces | 19 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 38 |
| Ekiti & Akoko (Yoruba) | Ilorin | 8,327 | 11,089 | 4,239 | 4,996 | 28,651 |
| Fali | Yola | 1,322 | 1,281 | 209 | 229 | 3,041 |
| Fulani | Kano, Sokoto, Bornu, etc. | 534,192 | 643,098 | 412,743 | 361,257 | 1,951,290 |
| For | Bornu | 29 | 19 | 3 | 5 | 56 |
| Gade | Nasarawa | 4,018 | 4,232 | 1,288 | 1,183 | 10,721 |
| Galembawa | Bauchi | 566 | 792 | 312 | 350 | 2,020 |
| Gamergu | Bornu | 381 | 515 | 210 | 163 | 1,269 |
| Ganagana | Nupe & Nasarawa | 7,148 | 8,260 | 2,215 | 2,077 | 19,700 |
| Ganawa | Bauchi | 94 | 80 | 62 | 48 | 284 |
| Ganawuri | ,, | 1,674 | 1,707 | 1,000 | 613 | 4,994 |
| Gandawa | Kontagora | 70 | 68 | 70 | 75 | 283 |
| Gasi | Bauchi | 106 | 93 | 76 | 91 | 366 |
| Gerawa | ,, | 4,318 | 5,662 | 2,375 | 2,111 | 14,466 |
| Gerkawa | Muri | 475 | 498 | 193 | 260 | 1,426 |
| Gerumawa | Bauchi | 4,087 | 5,411 | 2,167 | 1,793 | 13,458 |
| Gesumawa | Kano | 938 | 1,026 | 597 | 961 | 3,522 |

| Tribe | Provinces in which mainly domiciled | Adults | | Non-adults | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Gezawa | Bauchi | 339 | 370 | 219 | 174 | 1,102 |
| Gildirawa | ,, | 59 | 69 | 42 | 25 | 195 |
| Gongla (Gongola) | Yola | 472 | 434 | 192 | 185 | 1,283 |
| Gungawa | Sokoto | 3,470 | 3,182 | 3,076 | 2,731 | 12,459 |
| Gupa | Nupe | 2,415 | 2,955 | 1,099 | 875 | 7,344 |
| Guri | Zaria | 1,262 | 1,142 | 430 | 340 | 3,174 |
| Gurawa | Bauchi | 487 | 381 | 147 | 146 | 1,161 |
| Gurmana | Nupe | 310 | 340 | 160 | 170 | 980 |
| Gwandara | Nasarawa | 3,655 | 3,613 | 1,255 | 1,131 | 9,654 |
| Gwari | Nupe, Nasarawa & Zaria | 52,675 | 49,820 | 19,314 | 19,848 | 141,657 |
| Hausa [1] | Kano, Sokoto, Zaria, etc. | 855,686 | 1,040,095 | 653,044 | 588,885 | 3,137,710 |
| Hina | Bornu | 833 | 1,197 | 1,146 | 1,172 | 4,348 |
| Hona | Yola | 1,039 | 1,226 | 604 | 719 | 3,588 |
| Ibaji | Munshi | 5,668 | 6,593 | 3,475 | 2,444 | 18,180 |
| Ibibio-Efik | Southern Provinces | 65 | 6 | 20 | 4 | 95 |
| Ibo | ,, | 1,317 | 717 | 305 | 327 | 2,666 |
| Idoma | Munshi | 7,872 | 8,051 | 2,206 | 2,275 | 20,404 |
| Igara (including Okpoto or Kwoto) | Munshi & Nasarawa | 79,072 | 81,697 | 37,371 | 38,738 | 236,878 |
| Igbira | Ilorin, Munshi & Nupe | 30,901 | 41,841 | 22,001 | 23,567 | 118,310 |
| Ijo | Southern Provinces | 99 | 9 | 9 | 2 | 119 |
| Irigwe (or Aregwe) | Bauchi | 2,402 | 2,650 | 2,240 | 1,210 | 8,502 |
| Jaba | Nasarawa & Zaria | 4,649 | 3,679 | 2,191 | 2,567 | 13,086 |
| Jaku | Bauchi | 583 | 677 | 279 | 236 | 1,775 |
| Jarawa (including Badawa) | ,, | 20,370 | 20,445 | 11,038 | 9,426 | 61,279 |
| Jekri | Southern Provinces | 63 | 23 | 7 | 10 | 103 |

[1] Including Abakwariga, Agalawa, Maguzawa, Shirawa, and Teshinawa, the Hausa figures are: Adults, 911,156 (m.), 1,107,818 (f.); non-adults, 696,455 (m.), 628,515 (f.); total, 3,343,944.

| Tribe | Province in which mainly domiciled | Adults | | Non-adults | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Jen | Muri | 142 | 117 | 61 | 50 | 370 |
| Jera | Yola | 623 | 742 | 379 | 112 | 1,856 |
| Jetko | Bornu | 71 | 76 | 26 | 15 | 188 |
| Jibawa | Muri | 635 | 735 | 373 | 289 | 2,032 |
| Jimawa | Bauchi | 165 | 205 | 82 | 12 | 464 |
| Jimbinawa | ,, | 206 | 237 | 138 | 129 | 710 |
| Jira | ,, | 513 | 691 | 421 | 435 | 2,060 |
| Jole | Muri | 125 | 109 | 48 | 49 | 331 |
| Jukun | Muri & Bauchi | 6,612 | 7,198 | 2,906 | 2,763 | 19,479 |
| Kachichere | Zaria | 153 | 153 | 94 | 106 | 506 |
| Kadara | ,, | 6,147 | 5,092 | 3,147 | 3,607 | 17,993 |
| Kagoma | Nasarawa | 2,223 | 1,557 | 637 | 1,013 | 5,430 |
| Kagoro | ,, | 3,149 | 2,978 | 1,546 | 1,953 | 9,626 |
| Kahugu | Zaria | 516 | 502 | 202 | 122 | 1,342 |
| Kaibi | ,, | 417 | 430 | 112 | 180 | 1,139 |
| Kaje | Nasarawa & Zaria | 4,712 | 4,478 | 2,394 | 2,271 | 13,855 |
| Kakanda | Ilorin | 1,391 | 1,406 | 572 | 511 | 3,880 |
| Kalakala | Kontagora | 54 | 45 | 47 | 36 | 182 |
| Kaleri | Bauchi | 2,350 | 2,150 | 900 | 1,100 | 6,500 |
| Kamantam | Zaria | 410 | 453 | 232 | 300 | 1,395 |
| Kamberi | Kontagora, Nasarawa, Sokoto, Bauchi & Nupe | 16,452 | 16,651 | 14,169 | 12,140 | 59,412 |
| Kamberi Beri-Beri | Sokoto | 22,861 | 30,787 | 23,086 | 19,708 | 96,442 |
| Kamu | Bauchi | 432 | 371 | 185 | 204 | 1,192 |
| Kamuku | Nupe & Kontagora | 7,368 | 7,326 | 2,870 | 2,619 | 20,183 |
| Kanakuru | Yola | 2,359 | 2,776 | 1,247 | 2,001 | 8,383 |
| Kanembu & Kanuri | Bornu | 196,756 | 240,715 | 105,969 | 94,051 | 637,491 |
| Kaninkwom | Nasarawa | 973 | 941 | 454 | 505 | 2,873 |
| Katab | Zaria | 3,765 | 3,317 | 1,378 | 1,771 | 10,231 |
| Kede | Nupe | 1,695 | 2,137 | 375 | 509 | 4,716 |
| Kengawa | Sokoto | 2,479 | 2,564 | 1,378 | 1,170 | 7,591 |
| Kerikeri | Bornu & Kano | 10,425 | 12,669 | 7,491 | 6,980 | 37,565 |
| Kento | Muri | 1,615 | 1,408 | 791 | 777 | 4,591 |
| Kibalo | Zaria | 230 | 200 | 36 | 50 | 516 |

| Tribe | Province in which mainly domiciled | Adults | | Non-adults | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Kilba - | Yola - | 4,102 | 5,163 | 838 | 2,902 | 13,005 |
| Kimegu - | Bornu - | 85 | 105 | 59 | 46 | 295 |
| Kinuku - | Zaria - | 229 | 196 | 61 | 62 | 548 |
| Kitimi - | ,, - | 215 | 124 | 50 | 52 | 441 |
| Konu - | ,, - | 842 | 673 | 231 | 213 | 1,959 |
| Koro - - | Nasarawa, Nupe & Zaria | 7,273 | 7,005 | 3,074 | 3,423 | 20,775 |
| Koyam - | Bornu & Kano | 3,741 | 4,425 | 1,541 | 1,292 | 10,999 |
| Kudawa - | Bauchi - | 1,196 | 1,453 | 576 | 633 | 3,858 |
| Kupa - | Ilorin - | 1,763 | 2,100 | 809 | 757 | 5,429 |
| Kurama - | Zaria - | 4,108 | 3,235 | 2,182 | 1,816 | 11,341 |
| Kuturmi - | ,, - | 446 | 459 | 226 | 282 | 1,413 |
| Kwinini - | Muri - | 101 | 111 | 90 | 80 | 382 |
| Kwola - | ,, - | 1,950 | 2,300 | 751 | 749 | 5,750 |
| Laka - - | Yola - | 333 | 1,049 | 273 | 232 | 1,887 |
| Lala - - | ,, - | 2,978 | 3,369 | 1,363 | 1,525 | 9,235 |
| Lau - - | Muri - | 94 | 106 | 49 | 40 | 289 |
| Langi - | Yola - | 108 | 322 | 106 | 103 | 639 |
| Larewa - | Kano & Bornu | 7,735 | 8,844 | 4,977 | 4,730 | 26,286 |
| Laruawa - | Kontagora | 324 | 277 | 334 | 248 | 1,183 |
| Lopawa - | ,, | 619 | 541 | 437 | 390 | 1,987 |
| Longuda - | Yola & Bauchi | 3,524 | 3,697 | 2,352 | 2,568 | 12,141 |
| Mada - | Nasarawa | 21,126 | 18,661 | 6,216 | 5,933 | 51,936 |
| Maga - | Bornu - | 75 | 76 | 64 | 76 | 291 |
| Magari - | ,, - | 420 | 472 | 131 | 93 | 1,116 |
| Maguzawa - | Kano - | 19,777 | 24,989 | 16,318 | 15,387 | 76,471 |
| Mama - | Nasarawa | 2,883 | 2,695 | 1,329 | 1,204 | 8,111 |
| Mandara (& Ula) | Bornu & Yola | 4,564 | 5,507 | 1,622 | 1,357 | 13,050 |
| Manga - | Bornu & Kano | 21,573 | 24,792 | 6,857 | 4,742 | 57,964 |
| Margi (& Chibuk) | Bornu & Yola | 13,241 | 16,360 | 10,921 | 9,030 | 49,552 |
| Miriam - | Muri - | 2,790 | 3,300 | 1,178 | 1,222 | 8,490 |
| Mober - | Bornu - | 2,053 | 2,978 | 1,013 | 687 | 6,731 |
| Moroa - | Nasarawa | 2,063 | 1,907 | 913 | 1,018 | 5,901 |
| Montoil - | Muri - | 3,684 | 3,838 | 1,276 | 1,396 | 10,194 |
| Mosi (Moshi) | Sokoto - | 220 | 209 | 190 | 144 | 763 |
| Mulgai - | Bornu - | 33 | 42 | 10 | 11 | 96 |
| Munshi - | Munshi - | 127,375 | 128,956 | 94,197 | 95,119 | 445,647 |
| Muzugu - | Bornu - | 88 | 158 | 19 | 12 | 277 |

| Tribe | Province in which mainly domiciled | Adults | | Non-adults | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Mumuye (& Zina) | Yola & Muri | 18,418 | 19,464 | 9,097 | 9,158 | 56,137 |
| Muyawa | Bauchi | 574 | 584 | 377 | 378 | 1,913 |
| Narabunu | Bauchi | 2,413 | 2,893 | 2,232 | 1,101 | 8,639 |
| Ninzam | Nasarawa | 1,729 | 1,725 | 497 | 648 | 4,599 |
| Ngamo | Bornu | 4,296 | 4,746 | 4,260 | 3,384 | 16,686 |
| Ngizim | Bornu & Kano | 5,613 | 7,192 | 3,974 | 4,094 | 20,873 |
| Numana | Nasarawa | 1,510 | 1,338 | 522 | 523 | 3,893 |
| Numbu | Zaria | 84 | 48 | 41 | 22 | 195 |
| Nungu | Nasarawa | 2,981 | 2,590 | 1,123 | 1,105 | 7,799 |
| Nupe [1] | Nupe, Ilorin, Sokoto, Kontagora, etc. | 87,383 | 102,638 | 43,536 | 43,389 | 276,946 |
| Nyadam | Muri | 409 | 354 | 274 | 294 | 1,331 |
| Owe (including Ayere and other Kabba sub-tribes) | Ilorin | 11,586 | 15,130 | 8,675 | 6,496 | 39,887 |
| Pai | Bauchi | 582 | 544 | 243 | 236 | 1,605 |
| Pakara | ,, | 250 | 270 | 140 | 80 | 740 |
| Panda | ,, | 137 | 171 | 111 | 117 | 536 |
| Pero | ,, | 1,946 | 2,198 | 1,208 | 1,312 | 6,664 |
| Piti | Zaria | 625 | 345 | 74 | 78 | 1,122 |
| Piri | Yola | 832 | 688 | 343 | 367 | 2,230 |
| Pongo | Nupe | 844 | 821 | 394 | 383 | 2,442 |
| Paiemawa | Bauchi | 1,872 | 2,389 | 955 | 830 | 6,046 |
| Ribam | Zaria | 247 | 246 | 98 | 90 | 681 |
| Rishiwa | ,, | 518 | 449 | 135 | 150 | 1,252 |
| Rubu | Nasarawa | 112 | 89 | 39 | 29 | 269 |
| Rukuba | Bauchi & Zaria | 3,919 | 4,141 | 3,305 | 1,254 | 12,619 |
| Rumada | Zaria & Bauchi | 3,385 | 3,899 | 1,802 | 1,560 | 10,646 |
| Rumaiya | Zaria | 634 | 557 | 277 | 317 | 1,785 |
| Rumuji | Sokoto | 122 | 130 | 154 | 127 | 533 |
| Ruruma | Zaria | 821 | 697 | 355 | 388 | 2,261 |
| Sanga | Bauchi & Zaria | 1,084 | 1,254 | 681 | 594 | 3,613 |
| Sara | Bornu | 711 | 577 | 85 | 65 | 1,438 |

[1] Including Ganagana, Gupa, Batachi, Benu, Bini, Kede, and Kupa, the Nupe totals are: Adults, 112,649 (m.), 132,146 (f.); non-adults, 52,122 (m.), 52,091 (f.); total, 349,008.

| Tribe | Province in which mainly domiciled | Adults | | Non-adults | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Seiyawa | Bauchi | 6,434 | 6,824 | 2,742 | 3,044 | 19,044 |
| Shangawa | Kontagora | 693 | 651 | 579 | 527 | 2,450 |
| Shirawa | Kano | 17,423 | 20,441 | 12,202 | 11,000 | 61,066 |
| Sirawa | Bauchi | 396 | 487 | 243 | 244 | 1,370 |
| Sura | ,, | 6,502 | 4,858 | 2,450 | 3,033 | 16,843 |
| Srubu | Zaria | 1,242 | 1,227 | 594 | 1,136 | 4,199 |
| Tal | Bauchi | 2,870 | 3,426 | 2,387 | 2,423 | 11,106 |
| Tangale | ,, | 10,206 | 10,552 | 5,466 | 5,713 | 31,937 |
| Teshinawa | Kano | 2,857 | 3,496 | 1,932 | 1,892 | 10,177 |
| Tera | Bauchi & Bornu | 5,660 | 7,800 | 4,797 | 4,745 | 23,002 |
| Toni | Nasarawa | 648 | 638 | 245 | 181 | 1,712 |
| Tubu | Bornu | 536 | 641 | 223 | 193 | 1,593 |
| Tula | Bauchi | 6,733 | 6,643 | 3,257 | 3,210 | 19,843 |
| Turu | Munshi | 537 | 568 | 343 | 369 | 1,817 |
| Vere | Yola | 3,008 | 3,358 | 1,557 | 1,737 | 9,660 |
| Waja | Bauchi | 6,733 | 6,909 | 4,689 | 5,082 | 23,413 |
| Warji (or Warjawa) | Bauchi & Kano | 5,945 | 6,689 | 4,825 | 3,795 | 21,254 |
| Wudufawa | Bauchi | 141 | 143 | 22 | 25 | 331 |
| Wurbo | Muri | 805 | 966 | 344 | 319 | 2,434 |
| Wurkum | ,, | 15,356 | 14,478 | 6,884 | 6,626 | 43,344 |
| Yagba | Ilorin | 5,144 | 8,763 | 3,767 | 3,094 | 20,768 |
| Yauri | Kontagora | 698 | 792 | 709 | 574 | 2,773 |
| Yanji | Zaria | 29 | 18 | 10 | 12 | 69 |
| Yergum | Bauchi & Muri | 6,476 | 8,454 | 5,520 | 5,418 | 25,868 |
| Yeskwa | Nasarawa & Zaria | 3,245 | 3,439 | 1,018 | 964 | 8,666 |
| Yoruba [1] | Ilorin, Sokoto, etc. | 84,136 | 108,215 | 58,201 | 53,004 | 303,556 |
| Yungur | Yola | 3,548 | 3,061 | 1,151 | 1,073 | 8,833 |
| Zaberma | Sokoto | 7,648 | 8,930 | 5,969 | 4,857 | 27,404 |
| Zakshiawa | Bauchi | 578 | 736 | 254 | 242 | 1,810 |
| Zarandawa | ,, | 479 | 703 | 265 | 242 | 1,689 |
| Zumper | Muri | 3,630 | 3,303 | 1,936 | 1,685 | 10,554 |
| Miscellaneous others | | 697 | 570 | 331 | 358 | 1,956 |
| Total for all tribes | | 2,890,120 | 3,368,974 | 1,947,782 | 1,787,639 | 9,994,515 |

[1] Including Aworo, Bunu, Ekiti (and Akoko), Kabba (Owe, etc.), and Yagba, the total Yoruba figures are: Adults, 111,808 (m.), 146,095 (f.); non-adults, 73,755 (m.), 68,335 (f.); total, 399,993.

## Table 13.

*Native Foreigners by Nationality, Country of Origin, and Sex. (Provinces and Townships.)*

| *Nationality* | *Country of Origin* | *Males* | *Females* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| British Empire | Gold Coast | 517 | 234 | 751 |
| | Sierra Leone | 492 | 163 | 655 |
| | Gambia | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| | West Indies | 37 | 7 | 44 |
| | British Guiana | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| | Total | 1,055 | 407 | 1,462 |
| France | Congo | 10 | — | 10 |
| | Cameroons | 36 | 14 | 50 |
| | Dahomey | 31 | 12 | 43 |
| | Togoland | 54 | 26 | 80 |
| | Sudan | 451 | 266 | 717 |
| | Total | 582 | 318 | 900 |
| Italy | Arabs of Tripoli and Fezzan | 164 | 63 | 227 |
| Spain | Fernando Po | 1 | — | 1 |
| Portugal | Angola | 1 | — | 1 |
| Brazil | — | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Liberia | — | 33 | 1 | 34 |
| | Grand Total | 1,841 | 790 | 2,631 |

## Table 14.

*Non-natives, by Nationality, Country of Origin, and Sex. (Provinces and Townships.)*

| *Nationality* | *Country of Origin* | *Males* | *Females* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| British Empire | England - - - | 628 | 77 | 705 |
| | Ireland - - - - | 53 | 8 | 61 |
| | Scotland - - - | 121 | 13 | 134 |
| | Wales - - - - | 26 | — | 26 |
| | Australia - - - | 47 | 4 | 51 |
| | Canada and Newfoundland - - - | 15 | 14 | 29 |
| | New Zealand - - - | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| | South Africa - - - | 9 | 8 | 17 |
| | Mauritius - - - | 1 | — | 1 |
| | India - - - - | 1 | — | 1 |
| | Arabia (Aden) - - | 15 | — | 15 |
| | Total - - - | 924 | 127 | 1,051 |
| France | France - - - - | 16 | 1 | 17 |
| | Syria - - - - | 19 | 7 | 26 |
| | Total - - - | 35 | 8 | 43 |
| Holland | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Denmark | — | 5 | 9 | 14 |
| Greece | — | 6 | — | 6 |
| Italy | — | 12 | 2 | 14 |
| Switzerland | — | 18 | 1 | 19 |
| Turkey | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Russia | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| United States of America | — | 11 | 7 | 18 |
| | Grand Total - - | 1,014 | 154 | 1,168 |

TABLE 15.

*Proportion of Persons of each Group or Race to* 10,000 *of the Total Population.* (*Provinces and Townships.*)

| *Race* | *Proportion of persons to 10,000 of total population* |
|---|---|
| Non-natives | 1·2 |
| Native foreigners | 2·6 |
| Natives : | |
| 1. Beri-Beri | 637·7 |
| 2. Fulani | 1,951·6 |
| 3. Hausa | 3,344·4 |
| 4. Nupe | 349·1 |
| 5. Yoruba | 400·1 |
| 6. Other natives | 3,313·3 |
| All natives | 9,996·2 |
| All groups | 10,000 |

## B. Age and Sex

*Age.* In the townships it was possible to ascertain with a moderate degree of accuracy the age of each inhabitant, and the results were tabulated in five groups : (1) Up to 3 years ; (2) 3-15 ; (3) 15-30 ; (4) 30-50 ; (5) 50 and over.

In the provinces, as far as the natives and native foreigners were concerned, two age-groups only were used, viz. the adult and non-adult—the non-adult including all persons up to the age of 15, and the adult all persons from the age of 15. No closer approximation than this would have had any value. It is difficult to obtain correct age-returns in Western countries ; in tropical Africa it is almost impossible. It will appear from the various tables that even although these two age-groups only were employed the returns were vitiated by unintentional misstatement, and probably also by intentional misrepresentation.

Table No. 16 shows the ratio of native adults to non-adults in the provinces and townships. 37·4 per cent. of the population are placed within the age-group 0-15; 62·6 per cent. being over 15. At the 1911 census the corresponding figures for India were 38·5 and 61·5 per cent., while the figures for England and Wales were 30·6 and 69·4 per cent. Owing to the greater longevity of the English we should expect (as we find) the non-adult figures for Negroes to be the higher. The Indian conditions of life probably approximate more closely to the Nigerian, so that the Nigerian ratio of 37·4 to 62·6 per cent. is not *prima facie* inaccurate. We cannot, however, fail to notice the great disparity shown in the age ratios as between the various provinces. While 48·2 per cent. of the inhabitants of Kontagora Province appear as non-adults, in Nupe and Nasarawa Provinces the proportion is only 25·9 per cent. It would appear that in these two latter provinces either many non-adults have been classed as adults, or, more probably, that many parents have, in accordance with the well-known Negro custom, deliberately concealed the true number of their children. In Kontagora Province, on the other hand, many adults have probably been classed as non-adults with a view to the concealment of taxable capacity.

The low percentage of non-adults in the townships, 13·0 as against 37·34 in the provinces, is merely an indication that natives do not settle permanently in the township areas.

Table No. 17 shows, by sex and province, the actual numbers of the most representative tribes in the two age-groups; and Table 18 gives the age ratio per centum for these tribes. We note here the low percentage for non-adults among the Shuwa (28·4) and Nupe (29·9), as com-

pared with the Munshi (42·5). These low percentages are almost certainly inaccurate. The ratios for the Fulani and Hausa are identical (39·7), and are probably approximately correct.

It may be interesting to mention here that the Swedish statistician Sundbarg has shown that in all Western countries the number of persons aged 15-50 is uniformly half of the total population. This would appear to be generally true also for India. If we accept the Nigerian census figures for the age-group 0-15 we find that the number of natives over the age of 50 is 12·62 per cent. of the total population, as against 11·28 per cent. in India. Natives of Nigeria would on this reasoning be longer-lived than those of India. Unfortunately, no great reliance can be placed on the Nigerian figures for the non-adult group, and any deductions based on them would be misleading. In Kontagora, for example, only 1·76 per cent. of the people would appear to reach the age of 50 !

Table No. 19 shows by provinces the proportions per cent. of native adults to native non-adults for each sex. Taking males first, it will be seen that for all provinces the proportion of non-adult males to adult males is 40·3 to 59·7 per cent. The corresponding figures for India were (in 1911) 38·75 to 61·25 per cent. ; while in England they were 31·7 to 68·3 per cent. When, therefore, we find percentages falling below 30, we must conclude that there has been misstatement. The percentages for Nasarawa, Nupe, Yola, and Zaria are much too low. When we turn to the percentages for females we notice a greater disparity than for males between the two age-groups, the non-adults being only 34·7 per cent. as against 65·3 for adults. That is to say, female adults exceed female non-adults by 30·6 per cent. In England in 1911 female

adults exceeded non-adults by 40·8 per cent., but in India the difference was only 23·74 per cent.

Taking the Nigerian figures as a whole the most noteworthy feature of this table is the high percentage of male non-adults. It is also of interest to note that the figures for Muri Province closely approximate to those of England and Wales in 1911, which for males were : adults, 68·3 per cent. ; non-adults, 31·7 ; for females : adults, 70·4 per cent. ; non-adults, 29·6.

The figures for Munshi Province, on the other hand, approximate most closely to those for India, which were for males : adults, 61·25 per cent. ; non-adults, 38·75 ; for females : adults, 61·87 per cent. ; non-adults, 38·13.

Tables Nos. 20 and 21 give the age and sex-distribution of 100 natives by provinces and tribes respectively. The figures show that the average percentages are 28·87 for adult males, 33·71 for adult females, 19·51 for non-adult males, and 17·91 for non-adult females. Adult females therefore exceed adult males by 4·84 per cent., while non-adult males exceed non-adult females by 1·6 per cent. ; or, in other words, there are 1,168 adult females to 1,000 adult males, and 918 non-adult females to 1,000 non-adult males.

In England in 1911 [1] adult females exceeded adult males by 3·3 per cent., and non-adult males exceeded non-adult females by 0·04 only. In India the excess of adult females over males was 0·62 per cent. only, with a similar figure for the excess of non-adult males over females. The provinces showing the highest excess figures are : Ilorin (8·93 adult females) ; Sokoto (7·24 adult females and

[1] The age and sex percentages for England and Wales were : adult males, 33·03 ; adult females, 36·33 ; non-adult males, 15·34 ; non-adult females, 15·3 (reckoning as adults those over 15 years).

3·36 non-adult males) ; Bornu (6·54 adult females and 2·46 non-adult males) ; and Kano (6·05 adult females). These provinces are mainly Muslim and the most highly civilized, and it is possible that some portion of the excess female adults may be due to the presence of additional wives from other provinces. This would seem to be borne out by Table 27, where the normal sex-ratio is only found among the two pagan tribes included, viz. the Igara and Munshi. It is more probable, however, that the large excess figures should be ascribed to incorrect enumeration. The mortality among adult males cannot be so much greater proportionately than among adult females, that an excess of 82 per thousand in the non-adult group becomes a deficiency of 168 in the adult group.

It will be observed that in three provinces—Kontagora, Nasarawa, and Zaria—adult males outnumber adult females; and that in Nasarawa, Nupe, and Yola non-adult females outnumber non-adult males. The Nasarawa figures therefore are, in all respects, the reverse of those for all the other provinces. Parallels can be quoted for a similar state of affairs in certain districts of India.

Table No. 22 is designed to show the proportion per cent. of native male adults to female adults, and of native male non-adults to female. 46·1 per cent. of all adults are shown as males, 53·9 per cent. being females ; while 52·1 per cent. of all non-adults appear as males, and 47·9 per cent. as females. In India the corresponding figures were 49·75, 50·25, 50·4, and 49·6 per cent.

The Nigerian figure of 46·1 per cent. for adult males, as against 53·9 for adult females, is low. In Ilorin Province the ratio of 43 to 57 is scarcely credible. The figures for Munshi Province approximate fairly closely to those for all India.

Table No. 23 is a summary of the age-period statistics for the townships, and shows, by sex, the proportion per thousand for each age-group.

Table 24 is a summary of the age-period statistics for all groups, and principal tribes.

*Sex.* In dealing with the age statistics we have had occasion to refer to the sex ratios in so far as they related to the age-groups. We saw from Tables 20 and 21, for example, that native male adults constituted 28·87 per cent. of the total population, female adults 33·71, male non-adults 19·51, and female non-adults 17·91. That is to say, that native males form 48·38 per cent. of the total native population in the provinces, as against 51·62 per cent. females; or, in other words, that for every 1,000 males there are 1,067 females. Although there was good reason to doubt the sex ratios in the age-groups, there does not appear to be the same reason for doubting the sex proportions taken as a whole. In England at the recent census the proportion of females to 1,000 males was 1,095; in 1911 it was 1,068.

In India at the 1911 census there were only 954 females to 1,000 males; but it is well known that the neglect of female infant life, the evils of premature marriage, and the general bad treatment of women in many districts, are responsible for this deficiency of women in India. The social condition of Negro women, on the other hand, would, judging by statistics, appear to be good.

We may accept, then, the ratio of 1,067 native females for every 1,000 males in the provinces. If townships are included the figure is 1,066.

When we come to study Tables 26 and 27, which show the ratios (*a*) by provinces and townships, and (*b*) by tribal groups, we note the very striking variations in the

figures. The township proportion of 619 females per mille males need not detain us, as the natives resident in townships are not permanent settlers. But in the provinces, while Zaria has only a proportion of 976 females, Ilorin easily heads the list with 1,176. The figure for Ilorin would certainly appear to be too high; but even greater variations have been recorded for different districts of India. Among the Toda, for example, there are only 756 females to 1,000 males, while the Lushai figure is 1,188.

If we examine the figures for the various tribes we are confronted with the fact that the predominantly Muslim tribes show a higher proportion of women than the animistic tribes—a condition which is, I believe, the reverse of that in India. Three explanations of this may be given: (*a*) The social circumstances are easier for the Muslim woman than for the Animist; (*b*) many animistic women become the wives or concubines of Muslims; (*c*) the Muslims may have misstated the number of adult males to a greater extent than the Animists.

The Yoruba, however, who show the highest proportion of women, are by no means purely Muslim, over 50 per cent. of those classed as Yoruba being pagan. But the Yoruba do not encourage their women to do heavy manual work in the fields, and it would appear probable therefore that, in this tribe, if there has been no gross misstatement during the enumeration, social conditions account to a large extent for the female preponderance.

Table No. 28 gives the age and sex-distribution of 1,000 persons of the principal tribes in the provinces.

Table No. 29 shows the total population for all groups by sex, whether resident in the provinces or the townships. It will be observed that the proportion of females

per mille males is, for native foreigners, 429, while for non-natives it is only 152.

The concluding Table, No. 30, shows the total population by sex and age periods, together with the sex percentages for each age-group.

TABLE 16.

*Native Population of Provinces by Age (actual and per cent.).*

| *Province* | *Adults* | *Non-adults* | *Percentage of non-adults to adults* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi - - - - | 624,446 | 329,349 | 34·5 |
| Bornu - - - - | 527,059 | 231,853 | 30·6 |
| Ilorin - - - - | 365,789 | 208,367 | 36·3 |
| Kano - - - - | 2,030,998 | 1,412,071 | 41·1 |
| Kontagora - - - | 97,025 | 90,440 | 48·2 |
| Munshi - - - - | 483,704 | 292,662 | 37·7 |
| Muri - - - - | 180,970 | 80,503 | 30·8 |
| Nasarawa - - - | 238,804 | 83,249 | 25·9 |
| Nupe - - - - | 268,253 | 93,586 | 25·9 |
| Sokoto - - - - | 971,676 | 723,444 | 42·7 |
| Yola - - - - | 192,967 | 78,004 | 28·8 |
| Zaria - - - - | 261,470 | 109,524 | 29·5 |
| All Provinces - - | 6,243,161 | 3,733,052 | 37·4 |
| All Townships - - | 15,933 | 2,369 | 13 |
| All Provinces and Townships - - - - | 6,259,094 | 3,735,421 | 37·4 |

# TABLE 17.

## *Principal Tribes by Provinces, Age, and Sex.*

| Province | | Tribe | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Beri-Beri | | Fulani | | Hausa | | Igara | | Munshi | | Nupe | | Shuwa Arabs | | Yoruba | | Other Natives | | All Natives | |
| | | A. | N.A. | A. | N.A. | A. | N.A. | A. | N.A. | A. | N.A. | A. | N.A. | A. | N.A. | A. | N.A. | A. | N.A. | A. | N.A. |
| Bauchi - | M. | 15,133 | 10,010 | 73,196 | 49,069 | 37,877 | 14,528 | 1 | — | 5 | — | 66 | 11 | 68 | 41 | 631 | 85 | 172,894 | 100,910 | 299,871 | 174,654 |
| | F. | 17,865 | 9,055 | 87,021 | 42,802 | 34,204 | 11,194 | — | — | — | — | 66 | 10 | 97 | 49 | 212 | 72 | 185,110 | 91,513 | 324,575 | 154,695 |
| Bornu - | M. | 118,475 | 46,511 | 9,912 | 6,232 | 2,807 | 865 | — | — | 5 | — | 7 | 3 | 10,900 | 4,287 | 83 | 8 | 96,530 | 67,322 | 238,719 | 125,228 |
| | F. | 147,206 | 35,602 | 9,659 | 6,070 | 2,331 | 595 | — | — | — | — | 8 | — | 13,229 | 4,053 | 28 | 7 | 115,879 | 60,298 | 288,340 | 106,625 |
| Ilorin - | M. | 156 | 82 | 2,903 | 2,706 | 2,826 | 887 | — | — | — | — | 20,058 | 10,572 | — | — | 103,611 | 71,261 | 27,700 | 21,045 | 157,254 | 106,553 |
| | F. | 172 | 75 | 3,589 | 2,387 | 2,802 | 920 | — | — | — | — | 24,272 | 9,750 | — | — | 139,834 | 66,046 | 37,866 | 22,636 | 208,535 | 101,814 |
| Kano - | M. | 51,942 | 43,432 | 299,494 | 241,551 | 515,178 | 416,284 | — | — | — | — | 25 | 15 | 2,521 | 1,763 | 51 | 8 | 42,054 | 32,624 | 911,265 | 735,677 |
| | F. | 63,750 | 45,057 | 358,383 | 212,576 | 642,007 | 385,339 | — | — | — | — | 33 | 12 | 3,071 | 1,652 | 19 | 7 | 52,470 | 32,751 | 1,119,733 | 676,394 |
| Kontagora - | M. | 190 | 199 | 3,076 | 3,088 | 6,338 | 5,857 | — | — | 4 | 1 | 2,192 | 2,085 | 1 | — | 146 | 128 | 37,495 | 36,546 | 49,442 | 47,904 |
| | F. | 167 | 162 | 2,602 | 2,677 | 6,160 | 4,815 | — | — | 12 | — | 2,442 | 1,758 | — | — | 105 | 92 | 36,095 | 33,032 | 47,583 | 42,536 |
| Munshi - | M. | 102 | 22 | 152 | 13 | 2,068 | 714 | 76,715 | 36,697 | 127,286 | 94,178 | 916 | 323 | 8 | — | 246 | 90 | 32,607 | 14,387 | 240,100 | 146,424 |
| | F. | 78 | 27 | 105 | 13 | 1,520 | 579 | 79,708 | 38,134 | 128,938 | 95.119 | 457 | 179 | 4 | — | 150 | 75 | 32,644 | 12,112 | 243,604 | 146,238 |
| Muri - - | M. | 530 | 160 | 11,022 | 4,353 | 4,799 | 1,807 | 1 | — | 15 | — | 225 | 75 | 6 | 2 | 50 | 18 | 70,475 | 33,981 | 87,123 | 40,396 |
| | F. | 555 | 171 | 12,542 | 4,005 | 5,119 | 1,603 | 1 | — | — | — | 234 | 74 | 4 | — | 59 | 24 | 75,333 | 34,230 | 93,847 | 40,107 |
| Nasarawa - | M. | 448 | 113 | 3,978 | 1,586 | 9,382 | 2,926 | 2,184 | 654 | — | 3 | 1,391 | 335 | 58 | 15 | 183 | 40 | 102,718 | 35,740 | 120,342 | 41,412 |
| | F. | 277 | 134 | 4,039 | 1,495 | 9,562 | 2,831 | 1,911 | 583 | — | — | 1,326 | 330 | 51 | 5 | 106 | 35 | 101,190 | 36,424 | 118,462 | 41,837 |
| Nupe - | M. | 368 | 156 | 2,517 | 1,048 | 8,294 | 2,503 | 16 | 5 | — | — | 73,331 | 26,678 | — | — | 2,373 | 671 | 42,495 | 14,073 | 129,394 | 45,134 |
| | F. | 299 | 124 | 2,870 | 1,124 | 8,099 | 2,316 | 12 | 9 | — | — | 84,730 | 29,401 | — | — | 2,501 | 664 | 40,348 | 14,814 | 138.859 | 48,452 |
| Sokoto - | M. | 4,059 | 3,360 | 89,595 | 87,278 | 235,786 | 217,130 | — | — | 1 | — | 13,296 | 11,801 | 29 | 23 | 1,486 | 987 | 80,214 | 69,557 | 424,466 | 390,136 |
| | F. | 4,736 | 2,772 | 117,204 | 72,976 | 306,400 | 186,862 | — | — | — | — | 17,490 | 10,357 | 24 | 17 | 1,696 | 903 | 99,660 | 59,421 | 547,210 | 333,308 |
| Yola - - | M. | 3,520 | 1,521 | 26,454 | 9,304 | 4,094 | 1,721 | 1 | — | 8 | 2 | 56 | 9 | 164 | 81 | 20 | 2 | 55,417 | 24,982 | 89,734 | 37,622 |
| | F. | 4,576 | 1,513 | 34,206 | 9,177 | 4,616 | 1,745 | 1 | — | 2 | — | 57 | 8 | 187 | 73 | 2 | 8 | 59,586 | 27,858 | 103,233 | 40,382 |
| Zaria - - | M. | 1,326 | 363 | 11,431 | 6,474 | 77,953 | 30,937 | — | — | 4 | — | 387 | 113 | 57 | 27 | 285 | 37 | 40,856 | 17,495 | 132,299 | 55,446 |
| | F. | 761 | 341 | 10,544 | 5,921 | 82,531 | 29,370 | — | — | 1 | — | 304 | 62 | 37 | 32 | 137 | 32 | 34,856 | 18,320 | 129,171 | 54,078 |
| All provinces | M. | 196,249 | 105,929 | 533,730 | 412,702 | 907,402 | 696,159 | 78,918 | 37,356 | 127,328 | 94,184 | 111,950 | 52,020 | 13,812 | 6,239 | 109,165 | 73,355 | 801,455 | 468,662 | 2,880,009 | 1,946,586 |
| | F. | 240,442 | 94,033 | 642,764 | 361,223 | 1,105,351 | 628,169 | 81,633 | 38,726 | 128,953 | 95,119 | 131,419 | 59,941 | 16,704 | 5,881 | 144,849 | 67,965 | 871,037 | 443,409 | 3,363,152 | 1,786,466 |

## Table 18.

*Percentages of Adults and Non-adults in each of the Principal Tribes of the Provinces.*

| *Tribe* | *Percentage of adults* | *Percentage of non-adults* |
|---|---|---|
| Beri-Beri | 68·6 | 31·4 |
| Fulani | 60·3 | 39·7 |
| Hausa | 60·3 | 39·7 |
| Igara | 67·8 | 32·2 |
| Munshi | 57·5 | 42·5 |
| Nupe | 70·1 | 29·9 |
| Shuwa | 71·6 | 28·4 |
| Yoruba | 64·3 | 35·7 |
| Other tribes | 64·7 | 35·3 |
| All tribes | 62·6 | 37·4 |

## Table 19.

*Percentages of Adults and Non-adults by Sex in each Province.*

| *Province* | *Males* | | *Females* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Percentage of adults (i.e. 15 and over)* | *Percentage of Non-adults (i.e. up to 15)* | *Percentage of adults (15 and over)* | *Percentage of non-adults (up to 15)* |
| Bauchi | 63·2 | 36·8 | 67·7 | 32·3 |
| Bornu | 65·6 | 34·4 | 73 | 27 |
| Ilorin | 59·6 | 40·4 | 67·2 | 32·8 |
| Kano | 55·3 | 44·7 | 62·3 | 37·7 |
| Kontagora | 50·8 | 49·2 | 52·8 | 47·2 |
| Munshi | 62·1 | 37·9 | 62·5 | 37·5 |
| Muri | 68·3 | 31·7 | 70 | 30 |
| Nasarawa | 74·4 | 25·6 | 73·9 | 26·1 |
| Nupe | 74·1 | 25·9 | 74·1 | 25·9 |
| Sokoto | 52·1 | 47·9 | 62·1 | 37·9 |
| Yola | 70·5 | 29·5 | 71·9 | 28·1 |
| Zaria | 70·5 | 29·5 | 70·5 | 29·5 |
| All provinces | 59·7 | 40·3 | 65·3 | 34·7 |

## Table 20.

*Age and Sex Distribution of* 100 *Natives in each Province.*

| *Province* | *Male adults* | *Female adults* | *Male non-adults* | *Female non-adults* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi - - | 31·44 | 34·03 | 18·31 | 16·22 |
| Bornu - - | 31·45 | 37·99 | 16·51 | 14·05 |
| Ilorin - - | 27·39 | 36·32 | 18·56 | 17·73 |
| Kano - - | 26·47 | 32·52 | 21·37 | 19·64 |
| Kontagora - | 26·37 | 25·38 | 25·56 | 22·69 |
| Munshi - - | 30·92 | 31·38 | 18·86 | 18·84 |
| Muri - - - | 33·32 | 35·89 | 15·45 | 15·34 |
| Nasarawa - - | 37·37 | 36·78 | 12·56 | 12·99 |
| Nupe - - | 35·76 | 38·38 | 12·47 | 13·39 |
| Sokoto - - | 25·04 | 32·28 | 23·02 | 19·66 |
| Yola - - - | 33·12 | 38·1 | 13·88 | 14·9 |
| Zaria - - - | 35·66 | 34·82 | 14·94 | 14·58 |
| All provinces - | 28·87 | 33·71 | 19·51 | 17·91 |

## Table 21.

*Age and Sex Distribution by Tribes of* 100 *Persons in the Provinces.*

| *Tribe* | *Male adults* | *Female adults* | *Male non-adults* | *Female non-adults* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beri-Beri - - | 30·82 | 37·77 | 16·64 | 14·77 |
| Fulani - - | 27·36 | 32·96 | 21·16 | 18·52 |
| Hausa - - | 27·19 | 33·12 | 20·86 | 18·83 |
| Igara - - | 33·35 | 34·49 | 15·79 | 16·37 |
| Munshi - - | 28·57 | 28·94 | 21·14 | 21·35 |
| Nupe - - | 32·23 | 37·84 | 14·98 | 14·95 |
| Shuwa - - | 32·4 | 39·18 | 14·63 | 13·79 |
| Yoruba - - | 27·62 | 36·64 | 18·55 | 17·19 |
| Other tribes - | 31·01 | 33·7 | 18·13 | 17·16 |
| All tribes - - | 28·87 | 33·71 | 19·51 | 17·91 |

TABLE 22.

*Percentage of Males and Females by Age in each Province.*

| Province | Adults | | Non-adults | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Percentage of males | Percentage of females | Percentage of males | Percentage of females |
| Bauchi - - | 48 | 52 | 53 | 47 |
| Bornu - - | 45·3 | 54·7 | 54·1 | 45·9 |
| Ilorin - - | 43 | 57 | 51·1 | 48·9 |
| Kano - - | 44·9 | 55·1 | 52·1 | 47·9 |
| Kontagora - | 50·9 | 49·1 | 53 | 47 |
| Munshi - - | 49·6 | 50·4 | 50 | 50 |
| Muri - - - | 48·1 | 51·9 | 50·2 | 49·8 |
| Nasarawa - - | 50·4 | 49·6 | 49·7 | 50·3 |
| Nupe - - | 48·2 | 51·8 | 48·2 | 51·8 |
| Sokoto - - | 43·7 | 56·3 | 53·9 | 46·1 |
| Yola - - - | 46·5 | 53·5 | 48·2 | 51·8 |
| Zaria - - - | 50·6 | 49·4 | 50·6 | 49·4 |
| All provinces - | 46·1 | 53·9 | 52·1 | 47·9 |

## TABLE 23.

*Total Population by Sex and Age in each Township. Proportion in a Thousand.*

| Township | Under 3 | | 3-15 | | 15-30 | | 30-50 | | 50 and over | | All ages | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. | |
| Ilorin - - | 20 | 24 | 43 | 27 | 171 | 118 | 84 | 20 | 5 | — | 323 | 189 | 512 |
| Jos - - | 11 | 11 | 37 | 21 | 255 | 148 | 193 | 36 | 6 | 2 | 502 | 218 | 720 |
| Kaduna - | 64 | 80 | 255 | 261 | 1,519 | 983 | 1,576 | 493 | 142 | 65 | 3,556 | 1,882 | 5,438 |
| Kano - - | 55 | 50 | 234 | 213 | 1,287 | 808 | 1,357 | 593 | 56 | 17 | 2,989 | 1,681 | 4,670 |
| Lokoja - - | 38 | 48 | 147 | 111 | 564 | 373 | 557 | 215 | 36 | 10 | 1,342 | 757 | 2,099 |
| Minna - - | 47 | 43 | 181 | 153 | 732 | 672 | 740 | 279 | 84 | 31 | 1,784 | 1,178 | 2,962 |
| Zaria - - | 51 | 72 | 169 | 204 | 1,104 | 1,026 | 909 | 230 | 21 | 5 | 2,254 | 1,537 | 3,791 |
| All townships | 286 | 328 | 1,066 | 990 | 5,632 | 4,128 | 5,416 | 1,866 | 350 | 130 | 12,750 | 7,442 | 20,192 |
| Proportion in a thousand persons of each sex for all townships - - | 22·4 | 44·1 | 83·6 | 133 | 441·8 | 554·7 | 424·8 | 250·7 | 27·4 | 17·5 | 1,000 | 1,000 | |

## TABLE 24.

*Total Population by Age, Sex, and Group (Provinces and Townships).*

| Group or Tribe | Male | | Female | | Persons | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 15 | 15 and over | Under 15 | 15 and over | Under 15 | 15 and over |
| Non-natives | 19 | 995 | 10 | 144 | 29 | 1,139 |
| Native foreigners | 290 | 1,551 | 251 | 539 | 541 | 2,090 |
| Natives: | | | | | | |
| Beri-Beri | 105,969 | 196,756 | 94,051 | 240,715 | 200,020 | 437,471 |
| Fulani - | 412,743 | 534,192 | 361,257 | 643,098 | 774,000 | 1,177,290 |
| Hausa - | 696,455 | 911,156 | 628,515 | 1,107,818 | 1,324,970 | 2,018,974 |
| Nupe - | 52,122 | 112,649 | 52,091 | 132,146 | 104,213 | 244,795 |
| Yoruba - | 73,755 | 111,808 | 68,335 | 146,095 | 142,090 | 257,903 |
| Other natives | 606,738 | 1,023,559 | 583,390 | 1,099,102 | 1,190,128 | 2,122,661 |
| All groups - | 1,948,091 | 2,892,666 | 1,787,900 | 3,369,657 | 3,735,991 | 6,262,323 |

## TABLE 25.

*Age Distribution of* 1,000 *Persons of each Sex by Groups or Tribes (Provinces and Townships).*

| Group or Tribe | Male | | Female | | Persons | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 15 | 15 and over | Under 15 | 15 and over | Under 15 | 15 and over |
| Non-natives - - | 18·7 | 981·3 | 64·9 | 935·1 | 24·8 | 975·2 |
| Native foreigners - | 157·5 | 842·5 | 317·7 | 682·3 | 205·6 | 794·4 |
| Natives: | | | | | | |
| Beri-Beri - - | 350 | 650 | 280 | 720 | 314 | 686 |
| Fulani - - | 435·9 | 564·1 | 359·7 | 640·3 | 396·6 | 603·4 |
| Hausa - - | 432·5 | 567·5 | 362 | 638 | 396·2 | 603·8 |
| Nupe - - | 316·3 | 683·7 | 282·7 | 717·3 | 298·6 | 701·4 |
| Yoruba - - | 397·5 | 602·5 | 318·7 | 681·3 | 355 | 645 |
| Other natives - | 372·2 | 627·8 | 346·7 | 653·3 | 359·3 | 640·7 |
| All groups - - | 402·4 | 597·6 | 346·7 | 653·3 | 373·7 | 626·3 |

## Table 26.

*Native Population of each Province and Township by Sex, and Proportion of Females to 1,000 Males.*

| Province | Males | Females | Proportion of females to 1,000 males |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 474,525 | 479,270 | 1,009 |
| Bornu | 363,947 | 394,965 | 1,085 |
| Ilorin | 263,807 | 310,349 | 1,176 |
| Kano | 1,646,942 | 1,796,127 | 1,091 |
| Kontagora | 97,346 | 90,119 | 926 |
| Munshi | 386,524 | 389,842 | 1,009 |
| Muri | 127,519 | 133,954 | 1,050 |
| Nasarawa | 161,754 | 160,299 | 991 |
| Nupe | 174,528 | 187,311 | 1,073 |
| Sokoto | 814,602 | 880,518 | 1,081 |
| Yola | 127,356 | 143,615 | 1,128 |
| Zaria | 187,745 | 183,249 | 976 |
| Township : | | | |
| Ilorin | 290 | 180 | 621 |
| Jos | 410 | 202 | 493 |
| Kaduna | 3,269 | 1,776 | 543 |
| Kano | 2,479 | 1,521 | 613 |
| Lokoja | 1,199 | 726 | 606 |
| Minna | 1,654 | 1,146 | 693 |
| Zaria | 2,006 | 1,444 | 719 |
| All provinces and townships | 4,837,902 | 5,156,613 | 1,066 |

## Table 27.

*Population of each of the Principal Tribes by Sex, and Proportion of Females to 1,000 Males (Provinces and Townships).*

| Tribe | Males | Females | Proportion of females to 1,000 males |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beri-Beri | 302,725 | 334,766 | 1,106 |
| Fulani | 946,935 | 1,004,355 | 1,061 |
| Hausa | 1,607,611 | 1,736,333 | 1,080 |
| Igara | 116,443 | 120,435 | 1,034 |
| Munshi | 221,572 | 224,075 | 1,011 |
| Nupe | 164,771 | 184,237 | 1,118 |
| Shuwa | 20,102 | 22,596 | 1,124 |
| Yoruba | 185,563 | 214,430 | 1,156 |
| Other tribes | 1,272,180 | 1,315,386 | 1,034 |
| All tribes | 4,837,902 | 5,156,613 | 1,066 |

## Table 28.

*Age and Sex Distribution of 1,000 Persons of the Principal Tribes in the Provinces.*

| Tribe | Age period | | | | | | All ages | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 15 | | | 15 and over | | | | | |
| | Male | Female | Persons | Male | Female | Persons | Male | Female | Persons |
| Beri-Beri - - | 166·4 | 147·7 | 314·1 | 308·2 | 377·7 | 685·9 | 474·6 | 525·4 | 1,000 |
| Fulani - - - | 211·6 | 185·2 | 396·8 | 273·6 | 329·6 | 603·2 | 485·2 | 514·8 | 1,000 |
| Hausa - - - | 208·6 | 188·3 | 396·9 | 271·9 | 331·2 | 603·1 | 480·5 | 519·5 | 1,000 |
| Igara - - - | 157·9 | 163·7 | 321·6 | 333·5 | 344·9 | 678·4 | 491·4 | 508·6 | 1,000 |
| Munshi - - - | 211·4 | 213·5 | 424·9 | 285·7 | 289·4 | 575·1 | 497·1 | 502·9 | 1,000 |
| Nupe - - - | 149·8 | 149·5 | 299·3 | 322·3 | 378·4 | 700·7 | 472·1 | 527·9 | 1,000 |
| Shuwa - - - | 146·3 | 137·9 | 284·2 | 324 | 391·8 | 715·8 | 470·3 | 529·7 | 1,000 |
| Yoruba - - | 185·5 | 171·9 | 357·4 | 276·2 | 366·4 | 642·6 | 461·7 | 538·3 | 1,000 |
| Other tribes - - | 181·3 | 171·6 | 352·9 | 310·1 | 337 | 647·1 | 491·4 | 508·6 | 1,000 |
| All tribes - - | 195·1 | 179·1 | 374·2 | 288·7 | 337·1 | 625·8 | 483·8 | 516·2 | 1,000 |

TABLE 29.

*Population of the Provinces and Townships by Sex and Group or Tribe, and Proportion of Females to* 1,000 *Males.*

| *Group or Tribe* | *Number of* | | | *Proportion of females to* 1,000 *males* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Males* | *Females* | *Persons* | |
| Non-natives - - | 1,014 | 154 | 1,168 | 152 |
| Native foreigners - | 1,841 | 790 | 2,631 | 429 |
| Natives: | | | | |
| 1. Beri-Beri - | 302,725 | 334,766 | 637,491 | 1,106 |
| 2. Fulani - - | 946,935 | 1,004,355 | 1,951,290 | 1,061 |
| 3. Hausa - - | 1,607,611 | 1,736,333 | 3,343,944 | 1,080 |
| 4. Nupe - - | 164,771 | 184,237 | 349,008 | 1,118 |
| 5. Yoruba - - | 185,563 | 214,430 | 399,993 | 1,156 |
| 6. Other natives | 1,630,297 | 1,682,492 | 3,312,789 | 1,032 |
| All natives - | 4,837,902 | 5,156,613 | 9,994,515 | 1,066 |
| All groups - | 4,840,757 | 5,157,557 | 9,998,314 | 1,065 |

## TABLE 30.

*Population of the Provinces and Townships by Sex and Age Periods, and Proportion per* 1,000 *Persons in each Age Period and Percentage of each Sex in Total Population.*

| *Age period* | *Population* | | *Excess* | | *Proportion per* 1,000 *persons in each age period* | | *Proportion per cent. of the total population by sex* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Males* | *Females* | *Of males* | *Of females* | *Males* | *Females* | *Males* | *Females* | *Total* |
| Under 15 years - | 1,948,091 | 1,787,900 | 160,191 | — | 521·4 | 478·6 | 19·5 | 17·9 | 37·4 |
| 15 years and over - | 2,892,666 | 3,369,657 | — | 476,991 | 461·9 | 538·1 | 28·9 | 33·7 | 62·6 |
| All ages - - - | 4,840,757 | 5,157,557 | 160,191 | 476,991 | 484·2 | 515·8 | 48·4 | 51·6 | 100 |

## C. Occupations

Of all the subjects dealt with at the census that of the occupations of the native population was the most complex. An accurate return of the occupation of each individual is difficult to obtain even in England, and in Nigeria was scarcely to be expected, especially as the Negro is accustomed to pursue a variety of callings, tilling the soil, perhaps, during the farming season, and in the dry months taking to trade, or occupying his spare time by subsidiary work such as spinning or weaving.

The main occupations only were, as a rule, recorded; but it will be seen that subsidiary occupations were also sometimes given without any indication that they were subsidiary. The returns of the occupations followed by women were particularly unsatisfactory, owing no doubt to the multiple and occasional character of the occupations pursued by women. In some districts, *e.g.* Sokoto, no attempt was made to arrive at an estimate of the numbers of women occupied.

In spite of the partial character of many of the returns, the statistics are of considerable value as an indication of the means by which Nigerian natives obtain their livelihood.

The method of classification was as follows. A comprehensive list of occupations was sent out to each census officer to serve as a general guide. The results obtained by the enumerators were classified by the Census Commissioner on the lines laid down for the classification of occupations at the English census of 1921.

Table 31 gives this classification by head and sub-head, differentiating male from female, and natives from native foreigners and non-natives. The total number of natives shown as occupied is 5,250,104. Therefore 47·5 per cent. of the native community would appear to be dependents

(as against 53 per cent. in India). The proportion of dependents is, however, probably considerably lower, as the occupations of women have not always been shown. Further, many non-adults (who are not included among the "occupied") assist their parents in farming or other work. On the other hand, it will appear from Table 32 that some non-adults have been included in the occupation returns, and that some who follow dual occupations have been included twice.

62 per cent. of native males are shown as occupied, as against 43 per cent. of females, *i.e.* for every 1,000 male workers there are 694 females. In India in 1911 there were only 466 female workers for every 1,000 males.

When we compare the numbers following the various occupations it will be seen that agriculture is the principal means of livelihood, 77 per cent. of native male adults shown as occupied being included in the agricultural group. The percentage for females is 63, and for both sexes 72. If we exclude the pastoral and hunting classes, the percentage of all agriculturists is 69, and with this we may compare the Indian percentage of all persons actively engaged in farming, which was 65 (in 1911).

The estimated area of land under cultivation was 19,668 square miles, or a percentage of 7·7 of the total area of the Northern Provinces. The average acreage per cultivator on this estimate was three and a half.

111,451, or about 1 per cent. of the total native population, are returned as actively engaged in a pastoral life. The majority of the pastoralists are nomad Fulani, and it is probable that many of this class escaped inclusion in the census.

Table 43 gives a return of the live stock for all provinces.

The textile group comes next to the agricultural in

order of importance, employing 6 per cent. of occupied males and 24 per cent. of occupied females. The group does not include mat and basket makers, who numbered 51,195, and were included in the group of workers in other materials. The large number of female spinners is noteworthy.

Commerce and petty trade are shown as employing over 3 per cent. of occupied males and over 10 per cent. of occupied females. These figures do not, however, fully represent the extent to which the Nigerian native engages in petty trade, which is extensively carried on as a subsidiary occupation. The group of metal-workers, represented chiefly by blacksmiths, numbers 33,916, or 3·4 per mille of the total native population. 38 female blacksmiths are included in this group.

28,304 persons, or 2·8 per mille of the total population, are shown as fishermen.

The public administration and defence occupy 27,149 natives, and this total includes all village headmen. As in India so in Nigeria, only those directly engaged in the executive and judicial administration were classed under the head of public administration, employés of Government, such as doctors and railway officials, being shown under the separate heads provided for these occupations.

The military force consists of 58 British officers, 49 British non-commissioned officers, 2,346 native rank and file, and 270 native enlisted carriers.

The Government Police-force is 1,010 strong, and the Native Administration police 3,290. The entire public force, therefore, constitutes only about 0·7 per mille of the total population, as compared with 6·8 per mille in India.

The Government Railway employs 6,360 natives and 141 native foreigners; the Government Medical Depart-

ment 68 natives and 22 native foreigners. The professional classes, such as the Muslim malams, total 46,402, or 47 per 10,000, as against 170 in India. Those engaged in personal services total only 25,600. The real numbers so employed are probably much higher. The tin-mines employ 13,160 natives, a number considerably less than during the last few years.

With regard to the occupations of females, it will be noted that certain industries such as spinning, beer-brewing, and the making of pottery, are monopolized by women. Women also take a prominent part in the collection of sylvan produce, weaving, and petty trade, such as the selling of foodstuffs.

No general census of infirmities was made, but a return of lepers (Table 44) shows that these totalled 32,772, or 328 per 100,000 of the total population. In India in 1911 the proportion of lepers was 69 per 100,000. The ratio of male lepers to female was 59 to 41. The corresponding ratio in India was 59 to 21. The number of lepers in Nigeria is thus proportionately very much higher than in India. But in India care was taken to exclude from the statistics all diseases such as leucoderma which have the outward appearance of leprosy, and are believed by the natives to be such. On the other hand, it is probable that numbers of genuine lepers were concealed in the Nigerian census.

The number of native convicts (Government and Native Administration) is 3,971, of whom 3,880, or 97·7 per cent. are males. The convict rate per 10,000 of the population works out at 4.

The native foreigners are principally employed as Government or mercantile clerks, 28 per cent. of males being engaged in this way. The remainder are employed mainly as mechanics, carpenters, traders, or domestic

servants. The non-natives are primarily engaged in the work of public administration; but 23 per cent. of the male population are shown as occupied in commerce.

The number of European trading firms shown in the returns is 33. Various non-natives, natives, and native foreigners also carry on trade in recognized trading premises within the townships. There are two British banks established at the principal trading centres.

Tin-mining occupies 17 per cent. of the non-native population. This percentage would have been considerably higher but for the trade slump in 1920. There were 68 companies or syndicates and 40 individuals engaged in mining operations at the beginning of 1921. The total area of ground alienated for mining purposes was 517 square miles, and one million yards of stream mining leases and mining rights. About 86 per cent. of this area was centred in Bauchi Province. 7,364 tons of tin, with an approximate value of £1,563,000, were won in 1920.

The following table gives the comparative mining figures for 1911 and 1920 (those for 1921 not being available at the time of writing):

| | 1911 | 1920 |
|---|---|---|
| Number of Companies operating | 77 | 108 |
| Number of Companies winning tin | 20 | 104 |
| Number of prospecting rights issued | 86 | 174 |
| Number of exclusive prospecting licences at end of year | 230 | 131 |
| Number of mining leases at end of year | 71 | 527 |
| Number of stream mining leases at end of year | 1 | 2 |
| Number of mining rights at end of year | — | 736 |
| Tin ore won (in tons) | 1,809 | 7,364 |
| Approximate value of tin won | £294,481 | £1,563,151 |
| Average European labour | 85 | 287 |
| Average Native labour | 5,832 | 22,890 |

Table 32 is designed to indicate the ratio of occupied to unoccupied male natives. According to the instructions sent out to the census officers, the occupations of adults only were to be returned. The numbers shown as occupied should not therefore exceed the number of male adults. The table shows how far this is not the case, and the explanation is that the excess represents subsidiary occupations, or is due to the inclusion of non-adults. Kontagora, Nasarawa, Nupe, and Sokoto are the only provinces where the number of males shown as occupied is less than the number of male adults.

Table 33 shows Table 31 in a condensed form. The headings in Table 33 are derived from those in Table 31 as follows :

1. Clerks, teachers, etc., from Groups XVI (Professional) and XIX (Clerks) of Table 31. Group XVI includes mostly the social class known as malams (*i.e.* those possessed of some knowledge of Arabic and the Koran).
2. Agriculturists, consisting of the whole of Group II, Table 31.
3. Fishermen, consisting of the whole of Group I, Table 31.
4. Textile-workers, from Groups VI (Leather-workers, etc.), VII (Textile-workers), VIII (Tailors, hat-makers, etc.), Table 31.
5. Artisans from Groups IV (Potters), V (Metal-workers), X (Carpenters), XI (Builders, bricklayers, etc.), Table 31.
6. Traders from Group XIV, Table 31.
7. Administration and Defence from Group XV, and Railways, Communications, and Marine employees of Group XIII, Table 31.

8. Tin-mines from Tin-mine workers of Group III, Table 31.
9. Miscellaneous includes salt-workers, etc., bakers, brewers, workers in sundry materials, canoemen, and carriers, entertainers, labourers, etc., and convicts, lepers, those engaged in personal services, etc.

Table 34 shows these figures reduced to percentages, thus enabling one to obtain at a glance the material contained in Table 33, and to compare the various provinces. We note immediately the preponderance of agriculturists, and in particular that in Munshi 92 per cent. of the males are agriculturists, and in Sokoto 66 per cent. Alternatively in the latter province 4·1 per cent. are teachers, etc., while in the former only 0·14 per cent. are teachers, etc. In Kano Province 0·38 per cent. are employed by the Administration, whereas in Kontagora 2·74 per cent. are engaged in this way.

Turning to the townships we note that nearly 45 per cent. are in the miscellaneous group. This is due to the large numbers of personal servants in the townships.

Considering the proportions for all provinces and all townships, we note in the townships the increase in the professional classes, artisans, traders, and Government servants, and the corresponding decrease in agriculturists and textile-workers.

Tables 35 and 36 show in a similar manner Table 31 when condensed for females.

We may note here the large variations shown in these returns of agricultural workers, spinners, etc., traders, and domestic occupations. In Sokoto comparatively few are returned as having any occupation at all—nearly 96 per cent. being in the " domestic " group, whereas in Munshi

99 per cent. are returned as having definite occupations in addition to ordinary domestic duties. In Bornu, again, very few are returned as unoccupied.

Turning to the townships we note that in Lokoja practically every female is returned as occupied, whereas in Ilorin, Jos, and Minna the occupations of a few only are given. This suggests that no great care has been taken to obtain reliable information as to the occupations pursued by females, or that in certain cases females who are engaged in domestic, in addition to other duties have been returned as " domestic," while in other cases they are returned as being engaged in one of the many occupations which they are called upon to pursue. No great amount of positive information can be obtained from these two tables.

Table 37 shows the non-native population distributed according to occupations. With regard to the headings used in this table " Commercial " includes merchants, agents, bank managers, clerks, etc. ; " Engineers " includes professional engineers and mechanics, etc. The only point of interest immediately noticeable is the large number of Australians who are engaged in mining.

### *Occupations of the Chief Tribes*

Table 38 shows with percentages the occupations of the male adults of the five tribes—Beri-Beri, Fulani, Hausa, Nupe, and Yoruba ; thus 80·2 per cent. of the Beri-Beri male adults in all the Northern Provinces are engaged in agricultural occupations. This table also shows for reference the percentages (from Table 34) of all male adult natives irrespective of race, and a comparison between the constituent items furnishes us with interesting information. For example, the percentages of Fulani and Yoruba

engaged as farmers are considerably greater than the percentage of farmers for all the natives, while the figures for the Hausa and Nupe are considerably less.

The Fulani and Yoruba would therefore appear to farm more extensively than the Hausa and Nupe ; the Hausa and Nupe would seem to contribute rather higher proportions to the teacher class than the others, especially the Beri-Beri. These two tribes also, with the Beri-Beri and Fulani in a lesser degree, have greater proportions engaged in spinning, weaving, etc., than the others ; the other tribes not considered here must therefore contribute very little to this class. Again, the Hausa and Nupe tribes have above the average percentage as artisans, the other three principal tribes having less ; the Hausa have a greater than average percentage as traders ; the Beri-Beri, Fulani, Hausa, and Nupe appear to contribute, in the provinces, a smaller proportion to the administration and defence than the Yoruba (but in the townships the reverse is the case). Judging from this table, the Hausa appear to be by far the most adaptable race. All the natives are essentially agriculturists, but it is apparent from the figures for all the natives that the Hausa contribute more than their share to teachers, spinners, etc., artisans, traders, and other occupations. Practically the same remarks can be applied to the Nupe, who have in addition a high percentage of fishermen. The Yoruba appear to have more than their share of agriculturists, and to contribute less to the outside occupations.

Table 39 gives similar statistics for the townships. It will be noted that in the townships the Yoruba appear to be in many respects the most important tribe, contributing more than their share to the clerical, artisan, and trading classes. 65 per cent. of native clerks employed

by the Government and mercantile firms are Yoruba. 51 per cent. of carpenters are Yoruba, and 57 per cent. of bricklayers and builders. The Hausa, on the other hand, are strongly represented in the military, police, and labouring classes. 67 per cent. of the native soldiers are Hausa, 52 per cent. of the police, 53 per cent. of labourers, and 30 per cent. of domestic servants.

The butcher-trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Hausa ; the driving and care of motor-cars is entirely in the hands of the Yoruba. The high percentage, in proportion to their numbers, of Fulani employed in administration and defence is noteworthy.

Table 40 was made to show how the occupations of the tribes vary in one province ; Sokoto, which contains representative numbers of all the five tribes considered, being selected as an example. The percentages of all male natives of this province in the various occupations are also included (from Table 34) for reference. The chief points of interest are that the Beri-Beri are mostly agriculturists, and that they contribute few teachers. The Fulani in Sokoto have much more diversified occupations than is the average for the whole country, engaging in trade to a greater extent. With regard to the Hausa we note that they have a much smaller proportion of traders here than all natives, and are about the average with regard to agriculture.

Table 41 brings out the comparative numbers of non-natives and native foreigners and natives in the four occupations in which persons of these three groups are engaged, viz. Government Service, Railways, Tin Mines, Commerce.

Table 42 is designed to show the comparative amount of cultivated and uncultivated land, and the average

acreage of the farm. It must be understood that this table is approximate only, being based on estimates made at various times by Political Officers. Female cultivators are included, but in many provinces (*e.g.* Sokoto) the returns of female cultivators were defective. It will be seen that the amount of land under cultivation in any year is estimated at only 7·7 per cent. of the total area, and that the average acreage farmed per person is 3·5.

Table 44 shows the distribution of lepers by Provinces, Townships, and Sex.

## Table 31.

*Occupations: All Provinces and Townships.*

| Occupation | Natives | | Native foreigners | | Non-natives | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. |
| I. Fishermen | 27,314 | 990 | — | — | — | — |
| II. Agricultural Workers: | | | | | | |
| (a) Farmers | 2,249,109 | 1,341,234 | 65 | — | — | — |
| (b) Pastorals | 80,872 | 30,579 | — | — | — | — |
| (c) Sylvan produce collectors | 5,941 | 38,540 | — | — | — | — |
| (d) Hunters | 7,669 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (e) Bee-keepers and honey collectors | 3,283 | 50 | — | — | — | — |
| III. Mine-workers: | | | | | | |
| (a) Tin | 13,160 | — | 3 | — | 169 | — |
| (b) Salt | 7,249 | 1,716 | 83 | — | — | — |
| (c) Galena workers | 172 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (d) Potash collectors | — | 187 | — | — | — | — |
| IV. Workers in | | | | | | |
| (a) Pottery | 3,443 | 13,214 | — | — | — | — |
| (b) Glass | 48 | — | — | — | — | — |
| V. Metal Workers: | | | | | | |
| (a) Blacksmiths and iron-smelters | 33,247 | 38 | 12 | — | — | — |
| (b) Brass-workers | 2 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (c) Mechanics | 605 | — | 122 | — | 12 | — |
| (d) Precious metals | 24 | — | 8 | — | — | — |
| VI. Workers in Skins: Leather | 15,894 | 91 | 3 | — | — | — |
| VII. Textile Workers: | | | | | | |
| (a) Spinners | 1,766 | 440,948 | — | — | — | — |
| (b) Weavers | 121,815 | 73,178 | 2 | — | — | — |
| (c) Dyers | 49,914 | 8,459 | — | — | — | — |
| (d) Cloth-beaters | 7,673 | 330 | — | — | — | — |
| VIII. Makers of Articles of Dress: | | | | | | |
| (a) Tailors | 51,856 | 245 | 13 | 56 | — | — |
| (b) Hat-makers | 109 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| IX. Makers of Foods and Drinks: | | | | | | |
| (a) Bakers | 408 | 977 | 3 | 20 | — | — |
| (b) Brewers | 10 | 4,936 | — | — | — | — |
| X. Carpenters, etc. | 7,989 | 1,218 | 79 | — | 1 | — |

| Occupation | Natives | | Native foreigners | | Non-natives | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. |
| XI. BUILDERS, ETC.: | | | | | | |
| (*a*) Builders, bricklayers, etc. | 7,613 | 501 | 32 | — | 6 | — |
| (*b*) Contractors and labourers | 118 | — | 9 | — | 1 | — |
| XII. WORKERS IN OTHER MATERIALS: | | | | | | |
| (*a*) Mats, baskets, etc. | 48,742 | 2,452 | 1 | — | — | — |
| (*b*) Calabashes | 1,038 | 399 | — | — | — | — |
| (*c*) Nets | 59 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*d*) Girdles | — | 169 | — | — | — | — |
| (*e*) Rope and string | 972 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*f*) Soap | — | 590 | — | — | — | — |
| (*g*) Beads | 549 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| (*h*) Sifters | 81 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*i*) Mortar and pestles | 23 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*j*) Sail-makers | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*k*) Oil-makers | 235 | 72 | — | — | — | — |
| XIII. TRANSPORT: | | | | | | |
| (*a*) Railways [1] | 2,329 | — | 67 | — | 100 | — |
| (*b*) Communication | 87 | — | 8 | — | 2 | — |
| (*c*) Canoe-men | 3,253 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*d*) Carriers | 825 | 219 | — | — | — | — |
| (*e*) Marine employees | 61 | — | — | — | 3 | — |
| XIV. TRADERS, ETC.: | | | | | | |
| (*a*) Traders and brokers, etc. | 85,856 | 231,797 | 266 | 53 | 236 | 1 |
| (*b*) Butchers | 22,434 | 1,191 | — | — | — | — |
| (*c*) Money-changers and bankers | 649 | 325 | — | — | 24 | — |
| XV. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEFENCE: | | | | | | |
| (*a*) Native Administration | 19,617 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| (*b*) N.A. Police and warders | 3,290 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*c*) Government | 589 | — | 164 | — | 209 | — |

[1] Many Railway employees are included under other heads. Natives employed on the railway actually totalled 6,360; native foreigners, 141.

| Occupation | Natives | | Native foreigners | | Non-natives | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M. | F. | M. | F. | M. | F. |
| XV. Public Administration and Defence: | | | | | | |
| (*d*) Government Police and warders | 1,061 | 2 | 12 | — | 10 | — |
| (*e*) Soldiers | 2,444 [1] | — | 30 | — | 97 | — |
| XVI. Professional | 46,288 | 114 | 8 | 2 | 116 | 60 |
| XVII. Entertainers | 23,201 | 467 | — | — | — | — |
| XVIII. Personal Services (*i.e.* barbers, domestic servants, etc.) | 21,571 | 4,029 | 171 | — | — | — |
| XIX. Clerks | 566 | 2 | 351 | 2 | 5 | — |
| XX. Unclassified above: | | | | | | |
| (*a*) Labourers | 6,867 | 9 | 26 | — | — | — |
| (*b*) Charcoal-burners | 331 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| (*c*) Well-diggers | 356 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*d*) Painters | 42 | — | 4 | — | — | — |
| (*e*) Watchmen | 116 | — | 14 | — | — | — |
| (*f*) Wood-gatherers and cutters | 3,029 | 8,849 | — | — | — | — |
| (*g*) Fortune-tellers | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*h*) Stone-polishers | 70 | — | — | — | — | — |
| XXI. Miscellaneous: | | | | | | |
| (*a*) Convicts—Government | 778 | 14 | — | — | — | — |
| (*b*) Convicts—N.A. | 3,102 | 77 | 11 | — | — | — |
| (*c*) Lepers | 19,413 | 13,359 | — | — | — | — |
| (*d*) Blind | 954 | 426 | — | — | — | — |
| (*e*) Lunatics | 21 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| (*f*) Pilgrims | 3 | — | — | — | — | — |
| (*g*) Beggars | 9,284 | 615 | — | — | — | — |
| (*h*) Casual stranger | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| (*i*) Not stated | 1,810,484 | 2,934,000 [2] | 274 | 657 | 22 | 93 |
| | 4,837,975 [3] | 5,156,613 | 1,841 | 790 | 1,014 | 154 |

[1] Figures supplied by Headquarters give a total of 2,589.

[2] Including 1,146,361 classed as "domestic."

[3] This figure is 73 in excess of the total male population, for the reason stated in footnote to table 32.

## Table 32.

*Number of Male Natives returned as "Occupied" and "No Occupation," compared with the Number of Adults and Non-adults.*

| | *Occupied* | *No occupation* | *Adult* | *Non-adult* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Provinces :* | | | | |
| Bauchi - - - | 307,733 | 166,792 | 299,871 | 174,654 |
| Bornu - - - | 257,560 | 106,387 | 238,719 | 125,228 |
| Ilorin - - - | 162,036 | 101,771 | 157,254 | 106,553 |
| Kano - - - | 988,720 | 658,222 | 911,265 | 735,677 |
| Kontagora - - | 48,833 | 48,513 | 49,442 | 47,904 |
| Munshi - - - | 248,725 | 137,799 | 240,100 | 146,424 |
| Muri - - - | 87,800 | 39,719 | 87,123 | 40,396 |
| Nasarawa - - | 117,849 | 43,905 | 120,342 | 41,412 |
| Nupe - - - | 128,728 | 45,800 | 129,394 | 45,134 |
| Sokoto - - - | 396,157 | 418,445 | 424,466 | 390,136 |
| Yola - - - | 90,928 | 36,428 | 89,734 | 37,622 |
| Zaria - - - | 181,853 | 5,892 | 132,299 | 55,446 |
| *Townships :* | | | | |
| Ilorin - - - | 272 | 18 | 231 | 59 |
| Jos - - - | 474 [1] | 9 | 367 | 43 |
| Kaduna - - | 3,082 | 187 | 3,007 | 262 |
| Kano - - - | 2,304 | 175 | 2,233 | 246 |
| Lokoja - - - | 1,167 | 32 | 1,029 | 170 |
| Minna - - - | 1,441 | 213 | 1,436 | 218 |
| Zaria - - | 1,829 | 177 | 1,808 | 198 |
| Totals - - | 3,027,491 | 1,810,484 | 2,890,120 | 1,947,782 |

[1] The normal occupations of 73 prisoners were included in the Jos returns. The correct figure should therefore be 401.

## TABLE 33.

### *Principal Occupations of Male Adults (Natives).*

| | *Clerks, teachers, etc.* | *Agri-culturists* | *Fisher-men* | *Textile workers* | *Artisans* | *Traders* | *Adminis-tration and defence* | *Tin-mine workers* | *Miscel-laneous* | *Totals* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Provinces :* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bauchi - - - | 2,294 | 255,637 | — | 17,004 | 3,786 | 5,783 | 4,401 | 11,336 | 7,492 | 307,733 |
| Bornu - - - | 4,013 | 217,138 | 3,097 | 18,032 | 1,514 | 4,144 | 1,235 | — | 8,387 | 257,560 |
| Ilorin - - - | 2,990 | 136,928 | 2,215 | 5,713 | 1,780 | 4,363 | 1,627 | 90 | 6,330 | 162,036 |
| Kano - - - | 14,412 | 740,156 | 6,114 | 109,885 | 15,601 | 34,209 | 3,795 | 438 | 64,110 | 988,720 |
| Kontagora - - | 308 | 39,449 | 365 | 2,284 | 971 | 1,102 | 1,337 | — | 3,017 | 48,833 |
| Munshi - - - | 346 | 228,073 | 1,582 | 2,729 | 7,313 | 2,846 | 2,832 | — | 3,004 | 248,725 |
| Muri - - - | 218 | 76,619 | 879 | 2,288 | 921 | 3,819 | 1,003 | — | 2,053 | 87,800 |
| Nasarawa - - | 994 | 103,569 | 223 | 3,605 | 1,105 | 1,749 | 1,547 | 330 | 4,727 | 117,849 |
| Nupe - - - | 2,607 | 96,052 | 4,583 | 8,691 | 2,490 | 3,751 | 1,807 | — | 8,747 | 128,728 |
| Sokoto - - - | 16,326 | 260,185 | 6,131 | 48,798 | 10,479 | 28,455 | 4,573 | — | 21,210 | 396,157 |
| Yola - - - | 639 | 72,896 | 1,905 | 7,753 | 1,213 | 3,438 | 1,897 | — | 1,187 | 90,928 |
| Zaria - - - | 1,002 | 119,781 | 220 | 21,982 | 4,489 | 14,042 | 1,622 | 966 | 17,749 | 181,853 |
| Totals - - | 46,149 | 2,346,483 | 27,314 | 248,764 | 51,662 | 107,701 | 27,676 | 13,160 | 148,013 | 3,016,922 |
| *Townships :* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ilorin - - - | 26 | 4 | — | 7 | 2 | 14 | 76 | — | 143 | 272 |
| Jos - - - | 15 | 36 | — | — | 25 | 17 | 93 | — | 288 | 474 |
| Kaduna - - - | 163 | 210 | — | 59 | 407 | 290 | 618 | — | 1,335 | 3,082 |
| Kano - - - | 107 | 2 | — | 38 | 334 | 432 | 330 | — | 1,061 | 2,304 |
| Lokoja - - - | 34 | 25 | — | 14 | 26 | 50 | 410 | — | 608 | 1,167 |
| Minna - - - | 56 | 82 | — | 75 | 356 | 35 | 171 | — | 666 | 1,441 |
| Zaria - - - | 304 | 32 | — | 70 | 277 | 400 | 104 | — | 642 | 1,829 |
| Totals - - | 705 | 391 | — | 263 | 1,427 | 1,238 | 1,802 | — | 4,743 | 10,569 |
| Grand totals - | 46,854 | 2,346,874 | 27,314 | 249,027 | 53,089 | 108,939 | 29,478 | 13,160 | 152,756 | 3,027,491 |

## TABLE 34.

*Percentages of Principal Occupations of Male Adults (Natives).*

| | *Clerks, teachers* | *Agriculturists* | *Fishermen* | *Textile workers* | *Artisans* | *Traders* | *Administration and defence* | *Tin-mine workers* | *Miscellaneous* | *Totals* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Provinces :* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bauchi | ·75 | 83·07 | — | 5·53 | 1·23 | 1·88 | 1·43 | 3·68 | 2·43 | 100 |
| Bornu | 1·56 | 84·30 | 1·20 | 7·00 | ·59 | 1·61 | ·48 | — | 3·26 | 100 |
| Ilorin | 1·84 | 84·50 | 1·37 | 3·53 | 1·10 | 2·69 | 1·00 | ·06 | 3·91 | 100 |
| Kano | 1·46 | 74·86 | ·62 | 11·12 | 1·58 | 3·46 | ·38 | ·04 | 6·48 | 100 |
| Kontagora | ·63 | 80·77 | ·75 | 4·68 | 1·99 | 2·26 | 2·74 | — | 6·18 | 100 |
| Munshi | ·14 | 91·70 | ·64 | 1·10 | 2·94 | 1·14 | 1·13 | — | 1·21 | 100 |
| Muri | ·24 | 87·27 | 1·00 | 2·61 | 1·05 | 4·35 | 1·14 | — | 2·34 | 100 |
| Nasarawa | ·84 | 87·89 | ·19 | 3·06 | ·94 | 1·48 | 1·31 | ·28 | 4·01 | 100 |
| Nupe | 2·03 | 74·62 | 3·56 | 6·75 | 1·97 | 2·91 | 1·40 | — | 6·76 | 100 |
| Sokoto | 4·12 | 65·68 | 1·55 | 12·32 | 2·65 | 7·18 | 1·15 | — | 5·35 | 100 |
| Yola | ·70 | 80·16 | 2·10 | 8·53 | 1·33 | 3·78 | 2·09 | — | 1·31 | 100 |
| Zaria | ·55 | 65·87 | ·12 | 12·09 | 2·47 | 7·72 | ·89 | ·53 | 9·76 | 100 |
| All provinces | 1·5 | 77·8 | ·9 | 8·3 | 1·7 | 3·6 | ·9 | ·4 | 4·9 | 100 |
| *Townships :* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ilorin | 9·6 | 1·5 | — | 2·6 | ·7 | 5·2 | 28·0 | — | 52·4 | 100 |
| Jos | 3·2 | 7·6 | — | — | 5·3 | 3·6 | 19·6 | — | 60·7 | 100 |
| Kaduna | 5·3 | 6·8 | — | 1·9 | 13·2 | 9·4 | 20·0 | — | 43·4 | 100 |
| Kano | 4·7 | ·1 | — | 1·6 | 14·5 | 18·7 | 14·3 | — | 46·1 | 100 |
| Lokoja | 2·9 | 2·1 | — | 1·2 | 2·2 | 4·3 | 35·2 | — | 52·1 | 100 |
| Minna | 3·9 | 5·7 | — | 5·2 | 24·7 | 2·4 | 11·9 | — | 46·2 | 100 |
| Zaria | 16·6 | 1·8 | — | 3·8 | 15·1 | 21·9 | 5·7 | — | 35·1 | 100 |
| All townships | 6·7 | 3·7 | — | 2·5 | 13·5 | 11·7 | 17·0 | — | 44·9 | 100 |
| All provinces and townships | 1·6 | 77·5 | ·9 | 8·3 | 1·7 | 3·6 | 1 | ·4 | 5 | 100 |

## Table 35.

*Principal Occupations of Female Adults (Natives).*

| | *Agricultural* | *Textile workers* | *Traders* | *Potters* | *Domestic and miscellaneous* | *Totals* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi - | 138,733 | — | 1,119 | 414 | 184,309 | 324,575 |
| Bornu - | 279,645 | 1,403 | 4,703 | 1,334 | 1,255 | 288,340 |
| Ilorin - | 3,692 | 76,504 | 118,101 | 2,502 | 7,736 | 208,535 |
| Kano - | 540,537 | 334,625 | 1,826 | 3,279 | 239,466 | 1,119,733 |
| Kontagora | 28,028 | 9,941 | 473 | 351 | 8,790 | 47,583 |
| Munshi - | 192,386 | — | 49,027 | — | 2,191 | 243,604 |
| Muri - | 72,829 | 4,419 | 2,207 | 1,680 | 12,712 | 93,847 |
| Nasarawa | 17,447 | 10,766 | 19,570 | — | 70,679 | 118,462 |
| Nupe - | 15,351 | 18,990 | 20,040 | 1,074 | 83,400 | 138,859 |
| Sokoto - | 21,246 | 76 | 3,057 | 3 | 522,828 | 547,210 |
| Yola - | 49,150 | 17,901 | 3,827 | 1,830 | 30,525 | 103,233 |
| Zaria - | 51,359 | 48,565 | 7,130 | 747 | 21,370 | 129,171 |
| Totals - | 1,410,403 | 523,190 | 231,084 | 13,214 | 1,185,261 | 3,363,152 |
| Ilorin - | — | — | 10 | — | 123 | 133 |
| Jos - - | — | 1 | — | — | 176 | 177 |
| Kaduna - | — | 15 | 504 | — | 954 | 1,473 |
| Kano - | — | — | 633 | — | 664 | 1,297 |
| Lokoja - | — | 24 | 544 | — | 9 | 577 |
| Minna - | — | 3 | 62 | — | 892 | 957 |
| Zaria - | — | 19 | 476 | — | 713 | 1,208 |
| Totals - | — | 62 | 2,229 | — | 3,531 | 5,822 |
| Grand totals | 1,410,403 | 523,252 | 233,313 | 13,214 | 1,188,792 | 3,368,974 |

## Table 36

*Percentages of Principal Occupations of Female Adults (Natives).*

| | *Agri-cultural* | *Textile workers* | *Traders* | *Potters* | *Domestic and mis-cellaneous* | *Totals* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Provinces* | | | | | | |
| Bauchi - - | 42·74 | — | ·34 | ·13 | 56·79 | 100 |
| Bornu - - | 96·99 | ·49 | 1·63 | ·46 | ·43 | 100 |
| Ilorin - - | 1·77 | 36·69 | 56·63 | 1·2 | 3·71 | 100 |
| Kano - - | 48·27 | 29·89 | ·16 | ·29 | 21·39 | 100 |
| Kontagora - | 58·91 | 20·89 | ·99 | ·74 | 18·47 | 100 |
| Munshi - | 78·97 | — | 20·13 | — | ·9 | 100 |
| Muri - - | 77·6 | 4·71 | 2·35 | 1·79 | 13·55 | 100 |
| Nasarawa - | 14·73 | 9·09 | 16·52 | — | 59·66 | 100 |
| Nupe - - | 11·06 | 13·68 | 14·43 | ·77 | 60·06 | 100 |
| Sokoto - - | 3·88 | ·01 | ·56 | — | 95·55 | 100 |
| Yola - - | 47·61 | 17·34 | 3·71 | 1·77 | 29·57 | 100 |
| Zaria - - | 39·76 | 37·6 | 5·51 | ·58 | 16·55 | 100 |
| All Provinces | 41·9 | 15·6 | 6·9 | ·4 | 35·2 | 100 |
| *Townships* | | | | | | |
| Ilorin - - | — | — | 7·5 | — | 92·5 | 100 |
| Jos - - | — | 0·6 | — | — | 99·4 | 100 |
| Kaduna - | — | 1·0 | 34·2 | — | 64·8 | 100 |
| Kano - - | — | — | 48·9 | — | 51·1 | 100 |
| Lokoja - - | — | 4·2 | 94·2 | — | 1·6 | 100 |
| Minna - - | — | 0·3 | 6·5 | — | 93·2 | 100 |
| Zaria - - | — | 1·6 | 39·5 | — | 48·9 | 100 |
| All Townships | — | 1·1 | 38·3 | — | 60·6 | 100 |
| All Provinces & Townships | 41·86 | 15·53 | 6·93 | ·39 | 35·29 | 100 |

## TABLE 37.

*Occupations of Non-natives by Country of Origin (Adults and Non-adults).*

| | Males | | | | | | | | | Females | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Government | | | Commercial | Engineers | Mining | Missionaries | Others | Totals | Missionaries | Others | Totals |
| | Civil | Military | Railway | | | | | | | | | |
| English | 148 | 75 | 56 | 160 | 62 | 104 | 16 | 7 | 628 | 10 | 67 | 77 |
| Scotch | 35 | 12 | 9 | 34 | 14 | 12 | 5 | — | 121 | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| Welsh | 5 | — | 4 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 1 | — | 26 | — | — | — |
| Irish | 24 | 9 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 53 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Canadian | 4 | — | — | — | — | — | 8 | 3 | 15 | 10 | 4 | 14 |
| Australian | 1 | — | — | 3 | 2 | 38 | 2 | 1 | 47 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| New Zealand | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | 2 | 1 | 8 | — | 3 | 3 |
| South African | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | — | 2 | 4 | — | 9 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Mauritian | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| India | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Arab (Aden) | — | — | — | 15 | — | — | — | — | 15 | — | — | — |
| French | — | — | — | 12 | — | — | 3 | 1 | 16 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Greek | — | — | — | 6 | — | — | — | — | 6 | — | — | — |
| Swiss | — | — | — | 16 | 1 | — | 1 | — | 18 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Danish | — | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | — | 5 | 9 | — | 9 |
| Italian | — | — | — | 12 | — | — | — | — | 12 | — | 2 | 2 |
| Dutch | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Turk | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Russian | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Syrian | — | — | — | 10 | — | — | — | 9 | 19 | — | 7 | 7 |
| American | — | — | — | 1 | — | 2 | 6 | 2 | 11 | 7 | — | 7 |
| | 218 | 97 | 71 | 283 | 90 | 175 | 55 | 25 | 1,014 | 50 | 104 | 154 |

| | Non-adults | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | English | Scotch | Irish | Canadian | South African | Italian | Syrian | American | Total |
| Male | 6 | — | 1 | 3 | — | — | 4 | 2 | 16 |
| Female | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | — | — | 9 |

## TABLE 38.

*Occupations of Native Male Adults in the Provinces by Principal Tribes, with Percentages.*

| Occupation | Beri-Beri | | Fulani | | Hausa | | Nupe | | Yoruba | | All male adults | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage |
| Teachers, etc. - | 1,363 | ·7 | 7,873 | 1·4 | 20,578 | 2·5 | 2,971 | 2·7 | 1,791 | 1·6 | 46,149 | 1·5 |
| Agriculturists - | 155,378 | 80·2 | 437,775 | 81·0 | 533,769 | 64·1 | 75,011 | 68·5 | 95,761 | 87·1 | 2,346,483 | 77·8 |
| Fishermen - - | 2,939 | 1·5 | 1,266 | ·2 | 7,138 | ·9 | 5,387 | 4·9 | 96 | ·1 | 27,314 | ·9 |
| Textile workers - | 17,641 | 9·1 | 51,160 | 9·5 | 129,672 | 15·6 | 13,007 | 11·9 | 3,788 | 3·5 | 248,764 | 8·3 |
| Artisans - - | 2,262 | 1·2 | 4,339 | ·8 | 23,016 | 2·8 | 2,735 | 2·5 | 1,035 | ·9 | 51,662 | 1·7 |
| Traders - - | 6,952 | 3·6 | 18,302 | 3·4 | 49,155 | 5·9 | 4,271 | 4·0 | 3,321 | 3·0 | 107,701 | 3·6 |
| Labourers - - | 253 | ·2 | 867 | ·2 | 1,963 | ·2 | 259 | ·2 | 596 | ·5 | 27,676 | ·9 |
| Administration and defence - | 415 | ·2 | 1,105 | ·2 | 4,404 | ·5 | 670 | ·6 | 1,267 | 1·2 | 13,160 | ·4 |
| Miscellaneous - | 6,508 | 3·3 | 17,760 | 3·3 | 62,638 | 7·5 | 5,246 | 4·7 | 2,323 | 2·1 | 148,013 | 4·9 |
| Totals - - | 193,711 | 100 | 540,447 | 100 | 832,333 | 100 | 109,557 | 100 | 109,978 | 100 | 3,016,922 | 100 |

## TABLE 39.

*Occupations of Native Adult Males in Townships by Principal Tribes, with Percentages.*

| | *Beri-Beri* | | *Fulani* | | *Hausa* | | *Nupe* | | *Yoruba* | | *Other natives* | | *All natives* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Number* | *Per-centage* | *Number* | *Per-centage* | *Number* | *Per-centage* | *Number* | *Per-centage* | *Number* | *Per-centage* | *Number* | *Per-centage* | *Number* | *Per-centage* |
| Clerks and teachers - | 38 | 7·4 | 2 | ·4 | 182 | 4·8 | 42 | 5·9 | 249 | 9·2 | 192 | 7·9 | 705 | 6·7 |
| Farmers - | 2 | ·4 | 10 | 2·2 | 198 | 5·3 | 20 | 2·8 | 38 | 1·4 | 123 | 5·1 | 391 | 3·7 |
| Textile workers - | — | — | 1 | ·2 | 90 | 2·4 | 50 | 7 | 91 | 3·4 | 31 | 1·3 | 263 | 2·5 |
| Artisans - | 9 | 1·7 | 11 | 2·5 | 157 | 4·2 | 87 | 12·1 | 686 | 25·4 | 417 | 19·6 | 1,427 | 13·5 |
| Traders - | 72 | 14·1 | 42 | 9·3 | 340 | 9 | 145 | 20·2 | 639 | 23·7 | — | — | 1,238 | 11·7 |
| Labourers - | 84 | 16·4 | 102 | 22·6 | 906 | 24·1 | 158 | 22 | 334 | 12·4 | 112 | 4·6 | 1,696 | 16· |
| Administration and Defence - | 130 | 25·4 | 152 | 33·7 | 1,103 | 29·3 | 78 | 10·9 | 241 | 8·9 | 98 | 4·0 | 1,802 | 17·1 |
| Other occupations - | 177 | 34·6 | 131 | 29·1 | 785 | 20·9 | 137 | 19·1 | 420 | 15·6 | 1,399 | 57·5 | 3,047 | 28·8 |
| All occupations - | 512 | 100 | 451 | 100 | 3,759 | 100 | 717 | 100 | 2,698 | 100 | 2,432 | 100 | 10,569 | 100 |

## TABLE 40.

*Occupations of Male Adults by Principal Tribes in the Province of Sokoto, with Percentages.*

| Occupation | Beri-Beri | | Fulani | | Hausa | | Nupe | | Yoruba | | All males |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | |
| Teachers - | 42 | 1·3 | 3,753 | 4·7 | 9,107 | 4·2 | 515 | 4·2 | 53 | 3·9 | 4·1 |
| Farmers - | 2,352 | 73·3 | 51,104 | 64·7 | 141,423 | 66·1 | 7,909 | 64·3 | 978 | 71·7 | 65·7 |
| Fishermen - | 37 | 1·2 | 514 | 0·6 | 4,822 | 2·2 | 123 | 1·0 | 6 | 0·4 | 1·5 |
| Textiles - | 398 | 12·4 | 11,121 | 14·2 | 38,834 | 18·1 | 2,193 | 17·8 | 117 | 8·6 | 12·3 |
| Artisans - | 56 | 1·7 | 2,168 | 2·7 | 6,785 | 3·2 | 330 | 2·7 | 40 | 2·9 | 2·6 |
| Traders - | 192 | 6·0 | 8,182 | 10·3 | 5,870 | 2·7 | 849 | 6·9 | 114 | 8·3 | 7·2 |
| Labourers - | — | — | 1 | — | 15 | — | 1 | — | 1 | 0·1 | — |
| Soldiers - | 15 | 0·5 | 98 | 0·1 | 371 | 0·2 | 23 | 0·2 | 2 | 0·1 | 1·2 |
| Others - - | 116 | 3·6 | 2,143 | 2·7 | 7,142 | 3·3 | 355 | 2·9 | 55 | 4·0 | 5·4 |
| | 3,208 | 100 | 79,084 | 100 | 214,369 | 100 | 12,298 | 100 | 1,366 | 100 | 100 |

## Table 41.

*Number of Persons in Public Administration and Defence, Railways, Mines, and Commerce.*

| | *Administration* | *Railways* | *Tin mines* | *Commerce* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Non-natives - - - | 316 | 100 | 169 | 260 |
| Native foreigners - - | 206 | 67 [1] | 3 | 266 |
| Natives - - - - | 27,149 | 2,329 [1] | 13,160 | 345,137 |

[1] The figures supplied by the Railway Department were: Native foreigners, 141; and Natives, 6,360.

## Table 42.

*Showing Proportion of Cultivators and Uncultivated Land to Cultivated Land.*

| *Province* | *Area in sq. miles* | *Area of uncultivated land in sq. miles* | *Area of cultivated land in sq. miles* | *Number of cultivators (male and female)* | *Average acreage per cultivator* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi - | 23,700 | 20,399 | 3,303 | 386,454 | 5·5 |
| Bornu - | 33,600 | 31,874 | 1,726 | 461,748 | 2·4 |
| Ilorin - | 11,770 | 11,349 | 421 | 133,500 | 2·0 |
| Kano - | 29,500 | 21,079 | 8,421 | 1,231,380 | 4·4 |
| Kontagora | 27,800 | 27,522 | 278 | 36,168 | 4·9 |
| Munshi - | 16,936 | 15,536 | 1,400 | 416,046 | 2·1 |
| Muri - | 19,698 | 19,415 | 283 | 147,484 | 1·2 |
| Nasarawa - | 16,710 | 16,042 | 668 | 117,690 | 3·7 |
| Nupe - | 17,003 | 16,635 | 368 | 108,586 | 2·2 |
| Sokoto - | 32,600 | 30,892 | 1,708 | 268,283 | 4·1 |
| Yola - - | 11,600 | 11,094 | 506 | 116,649 | 2·8 |
| Zaria - | 13,320 | 12,734 | 586 | 165,972 | 2·3 |
| All provinces | 254,237 | 234,569 | 19,668 | 3.589,960 | 3·5 |

## TABLE 43.

*Livestock Return.*

| *Province* | *Stallions* | *Mares* | *Donkeys* | *Cattle* | *Sheep* | *Goats* | *Camels* | *Swine* | *Ostriches* | *Remarks* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi - | 5,684 | 5,806 | 16,920 | 258,233 | 131,736 | 404,446 | 9 | — | — | |
| Bornu - - | 10,893 | 18,694 | 57,581 | 304,814 | 356,507 | 603,627 | 2,653 | — | 260 | |
| Ilorin - - | 842 | 476 | 27 | 25,885 | 50,376 | 188,811 | 1 | 11,169 | 28 | |
| Kano - - | 29,969 | 41,148 | 205,573 | 837,783 | 581,179 | 1,706,620 | 1,673 | — | 50 | Mules—1 |
| Kontagora - | 440 | 331 | 1,297 | 70,178 | 21,521 | 40,283 | 1 | 9 | 5 | |
| Munshi - | 117 | 28 | — | 4,804 | 37,262 | 86,435 | — | 27,773 | 1 | |
| Muri - - | 1,361 | 1,042 | 814 | 27,180 | 75,239 | 100,444 | — | — | — | |
| Nasarawa - | 441 | 274 | 27 | 36,016 | 29,414 | 56,296 | — | 7,059 | — | |
| Nupe - - | 1,585 | 326 | 147 | 18,692 | 24,077 | 92,199 | 1 | 1,406 | 17 | |
| Sokoto - | 6,451 | 23,967 | 143,767 | 467,027 | 319,510 | 843,790 | 459 | — | 5 | |
| Yola - - | 1,889 | 3,036 | 6,786 | 81,305 | 93,893 | 117,771 | — | 29 | — | |
| Zaria - - | 2,481 | 1,398 | 3,818 | 116,996 | 10,895 | 40,409 | 5 | — | 3 | |
| Totals - | 62,153 | 96,526 | 436,757 | 2,248,913 | 1,731,609 | 4,281,131 | 4,802 | 47,445 | 369 | |

TABLE 44.

*Distribution of Lepers by Province, Township, and Sex.*

| Province or township | Number of lepers | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total |
| Bauchi Province - - - | 2,580 | 2,025 | 4,605 |
| Bornu ,, - - - | 407 | 430 | 837 |
| Ilorin ,, - - - | 760 | 429 | 1,189 |
| Kano ,, - - - | 6,754 | 3,899 | 10,653 |
| Kontagora ,, - - - | 477 | 409 | 886 |
| Munshi ,, - - - | 1,125 | 845 | 1,970 |
| Muri ,, - - - | 581 | 316 | 897 |
| Nasarawa ,, - - - | 1,055 | 653 | 1,708 |
| Nupe ,, - - - | 976 | 618 | 1,594 |
| Sokoto ,, - - - | 2,651 | 2,417 | 5,068 |
| Yola ,, - - - | 575 | 459 | 1,034 |
| Zaria ,, - - - | 1,458 | 854 | 2,312 |
| Ilorin Township - - - | — | — | — |
| Jos ,, - - - | — | — | — |
| Kaduna ,, - - - | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| Kano ,, - - - | — | — | — |
| Lokoja ,, - - - | — | — | — |
| Minna ,, - - - | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Zaria ,, - - - | — | — | — |
| All provinces and townships | 19,413 | 13,359 | 32,772 |

## D. Civil Condition

Full statistics of civil condition were obtainable at the census for one group of the community only, viz. the non-natives. Figures were also obtained for the native foreigners and natives resident in townships. The statistics obtained are therefore of very limited interest, as they apply to small sections of the community living under abnormal conditions. For this reason three of the tables only are reproduced here. Reliable marriage statistics relating to the general mass of the natives would be of

great value, but there is little hope of obtaining these in the near future. A few general remarks may, nevertheless, be made with reference to the civil state of the natives in the provinces whose marriage systems have already been described at some length.[1] All the tribes are polygynous, but as the excess of marriageable females over marriageable males is, at the very widest estimate, only 168 per thousand it is apparent that a small proportion only of men can have more than one wife. Every Negro takes steps at an early age to ensure that by the time he reaches manhood he will have a wife. The universality of marriage is one of the most characteristic features of African life, and the unmarried man is an object of derision.

With regard to the age at which marriage takes place there is considerable variation among the tribes. The custom of parents, among some tribes, demanding an excessive bride-price tends to postpone the age of marriage, but usually girls are married soon after the age of puberty, and boys a year or two later. There are no infant marriages, though there are, as we have seen, infant betrothals. It would appear probable that many girls are married before they have attained their fifteenth year, and this would explain to some extent the excessive ratio of female to male adults, for the enumerators have been accustomed to class all married women as adults. It appears from the township figures for natives that about 6 per cent. of females under fifteen, and 1·1 per cent. of males under fifteen, were stated to be married.

We may now examine the township statistics.

Table 45 gives the numbers of unmarried, married, and widowed by sex in the townships, together with the pro-

[1] Vol. I. p. 188 *et seq.* and Vol. II. p. 94 *et seq.*

portions per cent. under each head. 59·5 per cent. of the population are married, 39·1 per cent. being unmarried and 1·4 widowed. 52·3 per cent. of males and 66·74 of females are shown as married. A comparison of these township statistics with the Indian figures is of no great value, for reasons already stated, but it is interesting to note that in India 46 per cent. of the males and 48 per cent. of the females are married. The higher ratio for the Nigerian townships does not connote a higher marriage incidence, as the township ratio is raised by the small proportion of children who live in township areas.

Table 46 gives percentages of unmarried males and females, exclusive of non-adults. About 45 per cent. of non-native males of marriageable age are unmarried, 26 per cent. of native foreigners, and 21·8 per cent. of natives. The Fulani percentage is only 17. Only 6·25 per cent. of the native adult females in townships were returned as unmarried.

Table 47 shows the proportion of married females to 100 married males. From this table it appears that only 22 per cent. of non-natives are accompanied by their wives in Nigeria. Among the Nupe there are 141 married women for every hundred married men; whether this means that the Nupe is so much more prosperous than his neighbour that he can commonly afford to have more than one wife, or whether Nupe women marry into other tribes to a greater extent than their neighbours, or whether they are accustomed to leave their husbands at home while they (the women) go on trading expeditions to the townships, is not apparent from the statistics.

The final table, No. 48, gives the civil condition of all residents in townships by age-periods. We have already remarked that a small proportion of natives under 15

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appear as married. In the age-group 15-30 it will be observed that, while among males the proportion of married natives to unmarried is about the same, among the females the married outnumber the unmarried by 78 per cent. to 22 per cent. It is clear, then, that so far as the townships are concerned the women marry at an earlier age than the men. This fact also emerged for the age-group 0-15. In the higher age-groups the numbers of unmarried diminish considerably, but are still, for males, surprisingly large. In the 30-50 group the married males are only in a majority of 2·36 to 1. In India only one bachelor in twenty-four is over 30, whereas in the townships of Nigeria 27·6 per cent. of bachelors are over 30, or one in less than four persons. For females, on the other hand, we find that there is one spinster in eight over the age of 30. Among the non-natives in the age-group 15-30 only one male in eight is married, while among native foreigners only one male in three is married in the age-group 30-50. The ratio for the Beri-Beri in the same age-group is even less.

It does not appear that among the native tribes there is any very great variation by religion, but it is noticeable that among the unnamed tribes ("other tribes"), who are mostly animistic, or to a lesser extent Christian, there is a very high percentage, viz. 65, of unmarried males in the age-group 15-30. This may be purely accidental; the numbers concerned are too few to warrant any general conclusions.

TABLE 45.

*Unmarried, Married, and Widowed in the Townships by Sex, with Percentages for each Sex.*

| | Males | | | Females | | | Males and females | | | All persons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | |
| Number - | 5,949 | 6,620 | 181 | 2,468 | 4,803 | 171 | 8,417 | 11,423 | 352 | 20,192 |
| Percentages for each sex | 46·7 | 52·3 | 1 | 31·44 | 66·74 | 1·82 | 39·1 | 59·5 | 1·4 | 100 |

TABLE 46.

*Percentage of Unmarried Adult Males and Females in Total Population of each Group in the Townships.*

| | Non-natives[1] | Native foreigners | Beri-Beri | Fulani | Hausa | Nupe | Yoruba | Other natives | All natives | All groups |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males - | 51·6 | 26 | 25·8 | 17 | 17·3 | 17·8 | 23·3 | 31·2 | 21·8 | 22·8 |
| Females - | 3·6 | 4·3 | 4·9 | 6·6 | 6·5 | 8·6 | 6·6 | 4·2 | 6·25 | 6 |

[1] Including the provinces the figures for non-natives were: males 45·6, females 3·5.

TABLE 47

*Proportion of Married Adult Females to 100 Married Adult Males by Group or Tribe in the Townships.*

| Non-natives[1] | Native foreigners | Beri-Beri | Fulani | Hausa | Nupe | Yoruba | Other natives | All natives | All groups |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20·4 | 37·4 | 80·3 | 86 | 80·8 | 141·2 | 59·2 | 64·8 | 76·8 | 72·6 |

## TABLE 48.

*Civil Condition by Age, Group or Tribe and Sex of the Populations of the Townships.*

| Group or tribe | Age period | Males | | | Females | | | Persons | | | All persons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | |
| Non-natives - | Under 15 - | 8 | — | — | 3 | — | — | 11 | — | — | 11 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 146 | 18 | 2 | 8 | 11 | 1 | 154 | 29 | 3 | 186 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 108 | 143 | 9 | 9 | 23 | 2 | 117 | 166 | 11 | 294 |
| | 50 and over - | 7 | 7 | — | 1 | — | — | 8 | 7 | — | 15 |
| | All ages - | 269 | 168 | 11 | 21 | 34 | 3 | 290 | 202 | 14 | 506 |
| Native-foreigners - | Under 15 - | 147 | 1 | — | 142 | — | — | 289 | 1 | — | 290 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 194 | 123 | 2 | 44 | 105 | 2 | 238 | 228 | 4 | 470 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 159 | 324 | 12 | 15 | 70 | 8 | 174 | 394 | 20 | 588 |
| | 50 and over - | 6 | 26 | 1 | — | 2 | 1 | 6 | 28 | 2 | 36 |
| | All ages - | 506 | 474 | 15 | 201 | 177 | 11 | 707 | 651 | 26 | 1,384 |
| Natives : Beri-Beri - | Under 15 - | 40 | — | — | 17 | 1 | — | 57 | 1 | — | 58 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 145 | 133 | 1 | 30 | 149 | — | 175 | 282 | 1 | 458 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 63 | 148 | 1 | 11 | 81 | 1 | 74 | 229 | 2 | 305 |
| | 50 and over - | 8 | 8 | — | — | 1 | — | 8 | 9 | — | 17 |
| | All ages - | 256 | 289 | 2 | 58 | 232 | 1 | 314 | 521 | 3 | 838 |

| Group or tribe | Age period | Males | | | Females | | | Persons | | | All persons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | |
| Fulani - | Under 15 - | 41 | — | — | 32 | 2 | — | 73 | 2 | — | 75 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 90 | 141 | — | 44 | 199 | 3 | 134 | 340 | 3 | 477 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 56 | 171 | — | 13 | 67 | 4 | 69 | 238 | 4 | 311 |
| | 50 and over - | 2 | 2 | — | — | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 8 |
| | All ages - | 189 | 314 | — | 89 | 270 | 9 | 278 | 584 | 9 | 871 |
| Hausa - | Under 15 - | 293 | 3 | — | 312 | 34 | — | 605 | 37 | — | 642 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 658 | 1,054 | 2 | 363 | 1,324 | 23 | 1,021 | 2,378 | 25 | 3,424 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 495 | 1,302 | 100 | 83 | 583 | 38 | 578 | 1,885 | 138 | 2,601 |
| | 50 and over - | 32 | 78 | 33 | 1 | 27 | 25 | 33 | 105 | 58 | 196 |
| | All ages - | 1,478 | 2,437 | 135 | 759 | 1,968 | 86 | 2,237 | 4,405 | 221 | 6,863 |
| Nupe - - | Under 15 - | 102 | — | — | 145 | 5 | — | 247 | 5 | — | 252 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 175 | 105 | 1 | 102 | 369 | 8 | 277 | 474 | 9 | 760 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 119 | 264 | 1 | 38 | 171 | 12 | 157 | 435 | 13 | 605 |
| | 50 and over - | 4 | 29 | 1 | 5 | 17 | 5 | 9 | 46 | 6 | 61 |
| | All ages - | 400 | 398 | 3 | 290 | 562 | 25 | 690 | 960 | 28 | 1,678 |
| Yoruba - | Under 15 - | 416 | 2 | — | 365 | 5 | — | 781 | 7 | — | 788 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 622 | 676 | 5 | 196 | 577 | 5 | 818 | 1,253 | 10 | 2,081 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 441 | 809 | 9 | 110 | 311 | 14 | 551 | 1,120 | 23 | 1,694 |
| | 50 and over - | 27 | 56 | — | 5 | 21 | 7 | 32 | 77 | 7 | 116 |
| | All ages - | 1,506 | 1,543 | 14 | 676 | 914 | 26 | 2,182 | 2,457 | 40 | 4,679 |

| Group or tribe | Age period | Males | | | Females | | | Persons | | | All persons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | Unmarried | Married | Widowed | |
| Other natives - | Under 15 - | 291 | 8 | — | 231 | 23 | 1 | 522 | 31 | 1 | 554 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 872 | 467 | — | 126 | 431 | 8 | 998 | 898 | 8 | 1,904 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 182 | 500 | — | 17 | 184 | 1 | 199 | 684 | 1 | 884 |
| | 50 and over - | — | 22 | 1 | — | 8 | — | — | 30 | 1 | 31 |
| | All ages - | 1,345 | 997 | 1 | 374 | 646 | 10 | 1,719 | 1,643 | 11 | 3,373 |
| All natives - | Under 15 - | 1,183 | 13 | — | 1,102 | 70 | 1 | 2,285 | 83 | 1 | 2,369 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 2,562 | 2,576 | 9 | 861 | 3,049 | 47 | 3,423 | 5,625 | 56 | 9,104 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 1,356 | 3,194 | 111 | 272 | 1,397 | 70 | 1,628 | 4,591 | 181 | 6,400 |
| | 50 and over - | 73 | 195 | 35 | 11 | 76 | 39 | 84 | 271 | 74 | 429 |
| | All ages - | 5,174 | 5,978 | 155 | 2,246 | 4,592 | 157 | 7,420 | 10,570 | 312 | 18,302 |
| All groups - | Under 15 - | 1,338 | 14 | — | 1,247 | 70 | 1 | 2,585 | 84 | 1 | 2,670 |
| | 15 to 30 - | 2,902 | 2,717 | 13 | 913 | 3,165 | 50 | 3,815 | 5,882 | 63 | 9,760 |
| | 30 to 50 - | 1,623 | 3,661 | 132 | 296 | 1,490 | 80 | 1,919 | 5,151 | 212 | 7,282 |
| | 50 and over - | 86 | 228 | 36 | 12 | 78 | 40 | 98 | 306 | 76 | 480 |
| | All ages - | 5,949 | 6,620 | 181 | 2,468 | 4,803 | 171 | 8,417 | 11,423 | 352 | 20,192 |

## E. Religious Statistics

The religious distribution of the peoples of the Northern Provinces is shown in Tables 49-51. The statistics presented are not, except for the townships, the result of a close religious census ; they are rather estimates rendered by the native enumerators after—in many cases—somewhat haphazard inquiry. Nevertheless they are of value as giving an approximate idea of the relative strength of the three main forms of religion practised.

Table 49 shows the religious distribution by provinces and townships, and Table 50 the proportion in a thousand. The Muhammadans constitute 67 per cent. of the total population, the Animists 32·8 per cent., and the Christians only 0·2 per cent. It will be observed that the provinces of Kano, Sokoto, Bornu, and, to a lesser extent, Nupe are predominantly Muslim, while Munshi, Nasarawa, Muri, Kontagora, Ilorin, Yola, and Bauchi show a higher proportion of Animists. Of the few who profess Christianity, nearly 80 per cent. belong to the Yoruba province of Ilorin.

Table 51 shows by group and tribe, with percentages, the number of adherents of each religion in the provinces. Nearly 98 per cent. of non-natives are Christian, as compared with 38 per cent. of native foreigners. Among the native tribes the Fulani show the highest percentage of Muslims. 85 per cent. of native Christians belong to Yoruba-speaking tribes, which have been in longer contact than the other tribes with Christian missionary effort.

Other points of interest are that the proportion of Protestants to Roman Catholics is 8 to 1, and that, whereas in the provinces the Christians constitute less than 0·2 of

the population, this proportion rises in the townships to 27 per cent.

*Missions.* Table 52 shows the number of European Christian Missions and missionaries at work in the provinces and townships. There are eight missions altogether, or nine, including the Danish Mission, which works in conjunction with the Sudan United Mission. There were at the time of the census 55 male and 50 female European and American missionaries resident in the country. Evangelistic effort is mainly directed towards the conversion of the animistic tribes, and it will be observed that no missions have so far been established in the provinces of Bornu, Kano, Sokoto, or Kontagora, as it is against the Government policy to permit Christian propaganda within areas which are predominantly Muslim.

Table 53 shows the numbers of Christian churches in each province and township—the total being given as 150, or an average of one church per 77 adherents. Over 50 per cent. of the churches are located in Ilorin Province. The work of the Baptist, United African, and Wesleyan Methodist sects is carried on entirely by the Yoruba or by native foreigners, without active assistance from European missionaries. The same is true of the Nigerian Pastorate Church, which is affiliated with the Church Missionary Society.

The final table, No. 54, shows the number of adherents of each Christian denomination by province and township. The total number shown is 11,516, or 1 in 896 of the total population. The Sudan Interior Mission and the Church Missionary Society show the largest number of adherents and the widest range of activity.

TABLE 49.

*Population by Religion in each Province and Township.*

| | Christians | | | Muhammadans | Animists. | Others | All religions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Protestants | Roman Catholics | Greek Orthodox | | | | |
| *Province :* | | | | | | | |
| Bauchi - - - | 754 | 105 | — | 428,208 | 525,114 | 3 | 954,184 |
| Bornu - - - | 53 | 8 | 2 | 522,357 | 236,921 | — | 759,341 |
| Ilorin - - - | 10,475 | 310 | — | 186,134 | 377,384 | — | 574,303 |
| Kano - - - | 88 | 5 | 1 | 3,322,694 | 120,419 | — | 3,443,207 |
| Kontagora - - | 26 | 14 | — | 38,457 | 148,996 | — | 187,493 |
| Munshi - - - | 248 | 47 | — | 11,205 | 764,971 | 2 | 776,471 |
| Muri - - - | 296 | 19 | — | 48,799 | 212,619 | — | 261,735 |
| Nasarawa - - | 198 | 23 | — | 51,611 | 270,291 | — | 322,123 |
| Nupe - - - | 536 | 11 | — | 194,404 | 167,009 | — | 361,960 |
| Sokoto - - - | 56 | 22 | 1 | 1,508,015 | 187,086 | 2 | 1,695,182 |
| Yola - - - | 49 | 5 | — | 115,643 | 155,334 | — | 271,031 |
| Zaria - - - | 328 | 5 | — | 258,835 | 111,924 | — | 371,092 |
| *Township :* | | | | | | | |
| Ilorin - - - | 205 | 24 | — | 182 | 101 | 1 | 512 |
| Jos - - - | 139 | 69 | — | 397 | 114 | 1 | 720 |
| Kaduna - - | 811 | 269 | — | 3,961 | 396 | 2 | 5,438 |
| Kano - - - | 1,143 | 301 | 4 | 3,076 | 144 | — | 4,670 |
| Lokoja - - - | 319 | 184 | — | 1,093 | 503 | — | 2,099 |
| Minna - - - | 559 | 273 | — | 1,932 | 198 | — | 2,962 |
| Zaria - - - | 773 | 433 | — | 2,424 | 161 | — | 3,791 |
| All provinces and townships | 17,056 | 2,127 | 8 | 6,699,427 | 3,279,685 | 11 | 9,998,314 |

## Table 50.

*Proportion in a Thousand of the Adherents of each Religion to the Total Population in each Province, and in all Provinces and Townships.*

| Province | Christians | | Muhammadans | Animists | Others | All religions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Protestants | Roman Catholics | | | | |
| Bauchi - | ·8 | ·1 | 448·8 | 550·3 | — | 1,000 |
| Bornu - | ·07 | ·01 | 687·9 | 312·02 | — | ,, |
| Ilorin - | 18·2 | ·5 | 324·1 | 657·2 | — | ,, |
| Kano - | ·03 | — | 965 | 34·97 | — | ,, |
| Kontagora - | ·14 | ·08 | 205·1 | 794·68 | — | ,, |
| Munshi - | ·32 | ·06 | 14·4 | 985·22 | — | ,, |
| Muri - - | 1·13 | ·08 | 186·4 | 812·39 | — | ,, |
| Nasarawa - | ·61 | ·07 | 160·23 | 839·09 | — | ,, |
| Nupe - - | 1·48 | ·03 | 503·71 | 494·78 | — | ,, |
| Sokoto - | ·03 | ·01 | 889·6 | 110·36 | — | ,, |
| Yola - - | ·11 | ·01 | 426·68 | 573·2 | — | ,, |
| Zaria - - | ·88 | ·01 | 697·49 | 301·62 | — | ,, |
| All provinces | 1·31 | ·05 | 670·1 | 328·54 | — | 1,000 |
| All provinces and townships | 1·7 | ·2 | 670·1 | 328 | — | 1,000 |

## TABLE 51.

*Religion by Group or Tribe in the Provinces, with Percentages.*

| Group or tribe | Christians | | | | | | Muhammadans | Percentage | Animists | Percentage | Others | Percentage | All Religions | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Protestant | Percentage | Catholics | Percentage | Greek Church | Percentage | | | | | | | | |
| Non-natives - | 606 | 91·54 | 38 | 5·74 | 4 | ·6 | 7 | 1·06 | — | — | 7 (6 Agnostics, 1 Hebrew) | 1·06 | 662 | 100 |
| Native foreigners | 420 | 33·68 | 56 | 4·49 | — | — | 549 | 44·03 | 222 | 17·8 | — | — | 1,247 | 100 |
| Natives : | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (1) Beri-Beri - | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | 627,774 | 98·61 | 8,877 | 1·39 | — | — | 636,653 | 100 |
| (2) Fulani - | 8 | — | — | — | — | — | 1,942,662 | 99·6 | 7,749 | ·4 | — | — | 1,950,419 | 100 |
| (3) Hausa - | 93 | — | 2 | — | — | — | 3,138,468 | 94·05 | 198,518 | 5·95 | — | — | 3,337,081 | 100 |
| (4) Nupe - | 245 | ·07 | 30 | ·01 | — | — | 241,870 | 69·64 | 105,185 | 30·28 | — | — | 347,330 | 100 |
| (5) Yoruba - | 10,698 | 3·62 | 312 | ·11 | — | — | 140,668 | 47·63 | 143,636 | 48·64 | — | — | 295,314 | 100 |
| (6) Other natives - | 1,035 | ·03 | 136 | — | — | — | 594,364 | 17·43 | 2,813,881 | 82·54 | — | — | 3,409,416 | 100 |
| All natives - | 12,081 | ·12 | 480 | ·005 | — | — | 6,685,806 | 67·02 | 3,277,846 | 32·855 | — | — | 9,976,213 | 100 |
| All groups or tribes - - | 13,107 | 1·31 | 574 | ·006 | 4 | — | 6,686,362 | 67·01 | 3,278,068 | 32·853 | — | — | 9,978,122 | 100 |

TABLE 52.—*Number of Christian Missions and European and American Missionaries by Sex in each Province and Township.*

| Name of mission | Number of European missionaries | Province | | | | | | | | | | | | | Township | | | | | | All provinces and townships |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Bauchi | Bornu | Ilorin | Kano | Kontagora | Munshi | Muri | Nasarawa | Nupe | Sokoto | Yoka | Zaria | Ilorin | Jos | Kaduna | Kano | Lokoja | Minna | Zaria | |
| Christian Missions in many Lands | Male | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 |
| | Female | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 |
| | Total | — | — | — | — | — | 8 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 8 |
| Church Missionary Society | Male | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | 5 |
| | Female | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | Total | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | 5 |
| Dutch Reformed Church Mission | Male | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 |
| | Female | — | — | — | — | — | 7 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 7 |
| | Total | — | — | — | — | — | 11 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 11 |
| Mennonite Brethren in Christ | No return rendered | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Roman Catholic | Male | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | 3 |
| | Female | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | Total | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | 3 |
| Seventh Day Adventist Mission | Male | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| | Female | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| | Total | — | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 |
| Sudan Interior Mission | Male | 3 | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 4 | — | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 15 |
| | Female | 4 | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | — | 13 |
| | Total | 7 | — | 4 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 4 | — | — | 6 | — | — | — | — | — | 6 | — | 28 |
| Sudan United Mission | Male | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | 10 | 3 | — | — | 6 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 22 |
| | Female | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | 11 | 1 | — | — | 11 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 25 |
| | Total | 5 | — | — | — | — | — | 21 | 4 | — | — | 17 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 47 |
| All Missions | Male | 10 | — | 5 | — | — | 8 | 10 | 4 | 4 | — | 6 | 4 | — | — | — | 1 | 2 | 1 | — | 55 |
| | Female | 4 | — | 2 | — | — | 11 | 11 | 1 | — | — | 11 | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | — | 50 |
| | Total | 16 | — | 7 | — | — | 19 | 21 | 5 | 4 | — | 17 | 7 | — | — | — | 1 | 2 | 6 | — | 105 |

TABLE 53.

*Number of Christian Churches in each Province and Township.*

| Denomination | Number of Churches | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | All provinces and townships |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Province | | | | | | | | | | | | Township | | | | | | | |
| | Bauchi | Bornu | Ilorin | Kano | Kontagora | Munshi | Muri | Nasarawa | Nupe | Sokoto | Yola | Zaria | Ilorin | Jos | Kaduna | Kano | Lokoja | Minna | Zaria | |
| Baptist | — | — | 14 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | 15 |
| Christian Missions in many Lands | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Church Missionary Society | 3 | — | 50 | — | — | 9 | — | — | 15 | — | — | 2 | 1 | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | 82 |
| Dutch Reformed Church | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Mennonite Brethren | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Nigerian Pastorate Church (affiliated with C.M.S.) | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 4 |
| Roman Catholic | — | — | 4 | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | — | 1 | 11 |
| Seventh Day Adventist Mission | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Sudan Interior Mission | 3 | — | 6 | — | — | — | — | 2 | 4 | — | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 19 |
| Sudan United Mission | — | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | — | — | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 8 |
| United African Church | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | 4 |
| Wesleyan Methodist | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| All denominations | 6 | — | 79 | — | — | 11 | 7 | 2 | 20 | — | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 150 |

## TABLE 54.

*Number of Adherents of each Christian Denomination by Province and Township.*

| Denomination | Province | | | | | | | | | | | | | Township | | | | | | All provinces and townships |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Bauchi* | *Bornu* | *Ilorin* | *Kano* | *Kontagora* | *Munshi* | *Muri* | *Nasarawa* | *Nupe* | *Sokoto* | *Yola* | *Zaria* | *Ilorin* | *Jos* | *Kaduna* | *Kano* | *Lokoja* | *Minna* | *Zaria* | |
| Baptist | — | — | 529 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 110 | — | — | — | — | 639 |
| Christian Missions in many Lands | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Church Missionary Society (& Nigerian Pastorate Church) | 275 | — | 1,549 | — | — | 157 | — | — | 206 | — | — | 79 | 149 | 137 | 305 | 467 | 567 | — | 370 | 4,261 |
| Dutch Reformed Church | — | — | — | — | — | 16 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 16 |
| Mennonite Brethren in Christ | — | — | 150 | — | — | — | — | — | 30 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 180 |
| Roman Catholic | — | — | 255 | — | — | — | 50 | — | — | — | — | — | 23 | 67 | 150 | — | 200 | — | 223 | 968 |
| Seventh Day Adventist Mission | — | — | 45 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 45 |
| Sudan Interior Mission | 52 | — | 4,343 | — | — | — | — | 122 | 193 | — | — | 93 | — | — | — | — | — | 164 | — | 4,967 |
| Sudan United Mission | — | — | — | — | — | — | 185 | 9 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 194 |
| United African Church | — | — | 32 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 157 | 189 |
| Wesleyan Methodist Church | — | — | 34 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 23 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 57 |
| **All denominations** | 327 | — | 6,937 | — | — | 173 | 235 | 131 | 429 | — | — | 172 | 195 | 204 | 565 | 467 | 767 | 164 | 750 | 11,516 |

## F. Education

The population, in respect of education, was divided into three groups: (*a*) Educated; (*b*) Imperfectly educated or attending school; (*c*) Illiterate. It was not possible to lay down with precision the degree of proficiency in reading and writing which would entitle an individual to be classed as educated; this was left to the discretion of the local enumerators, and no test was applied. Generally speaking, all who could write and read any language moderately well were classed as educated. Any one who could read the Koran was also returned as literate, though it is well known that many who can read the Koran may yet be almost illiterate, or have little understanding of its meaning. Only 0·48 per cent. of the population were returned as educated, and only 1·96 per cent. "imperfectly" educated or attending school. In India 5·9 per cent of the population were returned in the 1911 census as educated—that is, able to read and write a letter to a friend and read his reply. Only 4 per cent. of Indian Muslims can write. In northern Nigeria about 3 per cent. of Muslims can write. In the provinces only 349 natives were returned as being able to read and write English well, and 1,692 as being able to do so imperfectly. Of the total population 97·56 per cent. were returned as illiterate.

The cause of the general illiteracy is to be found, firstly, in the history and social conditions of the tribes; secondly, in the comparative absence of educational facilities; and thirdly, in the defective character of the Muslim system of education. The great mass of the people are dependent on manual labour for their livelihood; they are indifferent therefore to education. Even in the few districts where

Government and Mission schools are to be found, parents do not encourage their children to go to school, as they would thus be deprived of the valuable agricultural assistance which children render them from a very early age. In the Muslim areas this reluctance on the part of parents is less marked, but the narrowness and tediousness of the Muslim curriculum are a hindrance to any real " drawing out " of the mind for the general mass of the pupils. The Muslim educational work is often carried out by totally incompetent teachers under unsuitable conditions—either in the very early hours of the morning, or in the evening, when the children are tired with their day's work in the fields.

Table 55 shows the number of educated, imperfectly educated, and illiterate in each province and township, together with percentages. Bornu shows the highest proportion both of educated and imperfectly educated, the figures being 1·3 and 5 per cent. respectively. Munshi Province, on the other hand, is almost totally illiterate, only 0·03 per cent. being shown as educated, and only 0·14 per cent. as being under instruction or imperfectly educated. The figures for the imperfectly educated are in all cases approximate only, as some enumerators omitted to include children at school among the imperfectly educated.

Table 56 gives similar statistics by groups and tribes for the provinces, and it will be observed that the Beri-Beri appear to devote rather more attention to education than the other Muslim tribes. The Yoruba come next. In the townships the Yoruba are by far the best-educated natives, only 68 per cent. of the township male Yoruba being returned as illiterates, as against 91 per cent. of Beri-Beri. Educated Muslims have few interests in town-

ships, but Yoruba Christians educated on European lines find a suitable outlet there for such clerical ability as they possess. The percentage of educated is 12·4 in the townships as against 0·46 in the provinces. 96·5 per cent. of non-natives and 36·3 of native foreigners appear as educated.

Of the total number of persons under instruction it will be seen (from Table 57) that only 1,454 persons were pupils in the Government schools, and only 2,905 in the Mission schools, the remainder attending the Muhammadan schools. Muslims do not usually seek the superior education offered in the schools supervised by Europeans, partly owing to the innate conservatism of the Negro, and partly also because parents regard such education as making too great a demand on the time of the children. Many of the animistic tribes are prone to regard education as an innovation designed for the European's benefit.

There are thirty Government schools as against one in 1911. The European educational staff consists of a Director, Deputy Director, fourteen superintendents, and four instructors in arts and crafts. The native staff consists of 180 secular, religious, and Arabic teachers. There are arts and crafts schools open at Kano, Bida, Sokoto, and Maiduguri.

The Mission schools number 103. One of these only is assisted by the Government. The total staff of European superintendents in the Mission schools is 48, and of native teachers 114.

The number of Muslim schools estimated was 30,381, and the number of teachers 34,903. These figures are approximate only, the Muslim schools being purely private undertakings, and often consisting of a single teacher with but one or two pupils, whom he instructs at irregular

times as he feels inclined. Every Muslim *malam* is potentially a schoolmaster.

There are no figures to show the relative proportions of the sexes under instruction, but from statistics supplied for Kontagora and Zaria Provinces it would appear that about 10 per cent. of the Muslim pupils are females. Parents do not encourage their daughters to learn to read and write. Education has for them less advantages than for sons. The economic services of daughters are demanded by mothers at an early age.

The concluding table, No. 58, gives the educational statistics by provinces and townships for each religious denomination. It will be seen that 98·2 per cent. of all persons under instruction are Muhammadan.

## TABLE 55.

*Number of Educated, Imperfectly Educated, and Illiterate in each Province and Township, with Percentages.*

| | *Educated* | *Per-centage of educated* | *Imperfectly educated or attending school* | *Per-centage of imper-fectly educated* | *Illiterate* | *Per-centage of illiterate* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Province :* | | | | | | | |
| Bauchi - | 3,541 | ·37 | 12,175 | 1·28 | 938,468 | 98·35 | 954,184 |
| Bornu - | 10,006 | 1·32 | 38,019 | 5·01 | 711,316 | 93·67 | 759,341 |
| Ilorin - - | 5,527 | ·96 | 4,172 | ·73 | 564,604 | 98·31 | 574,303 |
| Kano - - | 9,140 | ·27 | 71,733 | 2·08 | 3,362,334 | 97·65 | 3,443,207 |
| Kontagora - | 615 | ·35 | 1,365 | ·73 | 185,513 | 98·92 | 187,493 |
| Munshi - | 218 | ·03 | 1,095 | ·14 | 775,158 | 99·83 | 716,471 |
| Muri - - | 942 | ·36 | 2,871 | 1·09 | 257,922 | 98·55 | 261,735 |
| Nasarawa - | 575 | ·18 | 3,346 | 1·04 | 318,202 | 98·78 | 322,123 |
| Nupe - - | 2,388 | ·66 | 4,574 | 1·26 | 354,998 | 98·08 | 361,960 |
| Sokoto - | 9,656 | ·57 | 42,429 | 2·53 | 1,643,097 | 96·9 | 1,695,182 |
| Yola - - | 440 | ·16 | 3,080 | 1·14 | 267,511 | 98·7 | 271,031 |
| Zaria - - | 2,774 | ·75 | 9,066 | 2·44 | 359,252 | 96·81 | 371,092 |
| All provinces - | 45,822 | ·46 | 193,925 | 1·94 | 9,738,375 | 97·6 | 9,978,122 |
| *Township :* | | | | | | | |
| Ilorin - - | 59 | 11·5 | 8 | 1·6 | 445 | 86·9 | 512 |
| Jos - - | 90 | 12·5 | 38 | 5·3 | 592 | 82·2 | 720 |
| Kaduna - | 659 | 12·1 | 412 | 7·6 | 4,367 | 80·3 | 5,438 |
| Kano - - | 726 | 15·5 | 243 | 5·2 | 3,701 | 79·3 | 4,670 |
| Lokoja - | 172 | 8·2 | 165 | 7·9 | 1,762 | 83·9 | 2,099 |
| Minna - | 342 | 11·6 | 282 | 9·5 | 2,338 | 78·9 | 2,962 |
| Zaria - - | 450 | 11·9 | 538 | 14·2 | 2,803 | 73·9 | 3,791 |
| All townships | 2,498 | 12·4 | 1,686 | 8·3 | 16,008 | 79·3 | 20,192 |
| All provinces & townships - | 48,320 | ·48 | 195.611 | 1·96 | 9,754,383 | 97·56 | 9,998,314 |

## Table 56.

*Number of Educated, Imperfectly Educated, and Illiterate by Group or Tribe in the Provinces and Townships, with Percentages.*

| Group or tribe | Educated | Percentage of educated | Imperfectly educated | Percentage of imperfectly educated | Illiterate | Percentage of illiterate | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Non-natives* - | 1,127 | 96·5 | 7 | ·6 | 34 | 2·9 | 1,168 |
| *Native foreigners* | 956 | 36·3 | 386 | 14·7 | 1,289 | 49 | 2,631 |
| *Natives* | | | | | | | |
| Beri-Beri - | 9,276 | 1·5 | 33,638 | 5·3 | 594,577 | 93·2 | 637,491 |
| Fulani - | 10,267 | ·5 | 45,581 | 2·3 | 1,895,442 | 97·2 | 1,951,290 |
| Hausa - | 15,236 | ·45 | 87,226 | 2·6 | 3,241,482 | 96·95 | 3,343,944 |
| Nupe - - | 2,709 | ·77 | 5,473 | 1·57 | 340,826 | 97·66 | 349,008 |
| Yoruba - | 4,458 | 1·11 | 4,222 | 1·06 | 391,313 | 97·83 | 399,993 |
| Other natives | 4,291 | ·13 | 19,078 | ·58 | 3,289,420 | 99·29 | 3,312,789 |
| All natives - | 46,237 | ·46 | 195,218 | 1·95 | 9,753,060 | 97·59 | 9,994,515 |
| All groups - | 48,320 | ·48 | 195,611 | 1·96 | 9,754,383 | 97·56 | 9,998,314 |

## TABLE 57.

*Number of Schools, Scholars, and Teachers by Province, with Totals for Provinces and Townships.*

| | Government | | | | Assisted | | | | Non-assisted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | Christian | | | | Muslim | | |
| | Schools | Scholars | Teachers | | Schools | Scholars | Teachers | | Schools | Scholars | Teachers | | Schools | Scholars | Teachers |
| | | | Euro'n | Native | | | Euro'n | Native | | | Euro'n | Native | | | |
| Bauchi | 7 | 136 | 1 | 14 | — | — | — | — | 12 | 282 | 9 | 18 | 2,165 | 11,720 | 2,165 |
| Bornu | 2[1] | 122 | 1 | 24 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3,886 | 11,794 | 3,886 |
| Ilorin | 3 | 123 | 1 | 12 | — | — | — | — | 30 | 1,083 | 8 | 24 | 403 | 2,215 | 403 |
| Kano | 5[1] | 309 | 1 | 39 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 14,572 | 71,727 | 19,090 |
| Kontagora | Nil | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 171 | 1,361 | 171 |
| Munshi | 2 | 105 | 1 | 8 | — | — | — | — | 12 | 258 | 3 | 7 | 65 | 729 | 65 |
| Muri | Nil | — | — | — | 1 | 59 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 121 | 7 | 4 | 533 | 2,746 | 533 |
| Nasarawa | 1 | 39 | — | 5 | — | — | — | — | 5 | 50 | 5 | 3 | 294 | 3,255 | 294 |
| Nupe | 3[1] | 167 | 2 | 24 | — | — | — | — | 21 | 289 | 6 | 23 | 1,082 | 4,115 | 1,082 |
| Sokoto | 4[1] | 263 | 1 | 32 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 5,620 | 42,165 | 5,620 |
| Yola | 1 | 62 | 1 | 8 | — | — | — | — | 2 | 77 | 2 | 4 | 618 | 2,940 | 618 |
| Zaria | 1 | 82 | 1 | 10 | — | — | — | — | 4 | 62 | 4 | 4 | 966 | 7,053 | 966 |
| All provinces | 29 | 1,408 | 10 | 176 | 1 | 59 | 2 | 6 | 93 | 2,222 | 44 | 87 | 30,375 | 161,820 | 34,893 |
| All provinces and townships | 30 | 1,454 | 14 | 180 | 1 | 59 | 2 | 6 | 102 | 2,905 | 46 | 108 | 30,381 | 161,916 | 34,903 |

[1] Including one Arts and Crafts School.

TABLE 58.

*Number of Schools, Scholars, and Teachers of each Religion or Denomination by Province and Township, with Total Percentage of Christian and Muslim.*[1]

| *Province* | *Religion or denomination* | *Schools* | *Scholars* | *Superintendents and teachers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | Church Missionary Society | 8 | 258 | 22 |
| | Sudan Interior Mission | 2 | 12 | 2 |
| | Sudan United Mission | 2 | 12 | 3 |
| | Muslim | 2,172 | 11,856 | 2,180 |
| | All religions | 2,184 | 12,138 | 2,207 |
| Bornu | Muslim | 3,888 | 11,916 | 3,911 |
| Ilorin | Church Missionary Society | 20 | 732 | 12 |
| | Mennonite Brethren in Christ | 2 | 65 | 4 |
| | Roman Catholic Mission | 2 | 155 | 4 |
| | Seventh Day Adventist Mission | 1 | 32 | 3 |
| | Sudan Interior Mission | 5 | 99 | 9 |
| | Muslim | 406 | 2,338 | 416 |
| | All religions | 436 | 3,421 | 448 |
| Kano | Muslim | 14,577 | 72,036 | 19,130 |
| Kontagora | Muslim | 171 | 1,361 | 171 |
| Munshi | Church Missionary Society | 10 | 201 | 5 |
| | Dutch Reformed Church | 2 | 57 | 5 |
| | Muslim | 67 | 834 | 74 |
| | All religions | 79 | 1,092 | 84 |
| Muri | Roman Catholic | 1 | 38 | 1 |
| | Sudan United Mission | 7 | 142 | 18 |
| | Muslim | 533 | 2,746 | 533 |
| | All religions | 541 | 2,926 | 552 |

[1] The Muslim figures in this table include all the pupils of the Government schools, a few of whom are Animists.

| *Province* | *Religion or denomination* | *Schools* | *Scholars* | *Superintendents and teachers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nasarawa | Church Missionary Society | 1 | 20 | 1 |
| | Sudan Interior Mission | 2 | 14 | 3 |
| | Sudan United Mission | 2 | 16 | 4 |
| | Muslim | 295 | 3,294 | 299 |
| | All religions | 300 | 3,344 | 307 |
| Nupe | Church Missionary Society | 16 | 235 | 24 |
| | Mennonite Brethren in Christ | 1 | 30 | 1 |
| | Sudan Interior Mission | 4 | 24 | 4 |
| | Muslim | 1,085 | 4,282 | 1,108 |
| | All religions | 1,106 | 4,571 | 1,137 |
| Sokoto | Muslim | 5,624 | 42,428 | 5,653 |
| Yola | Sudan United Mission | 2 | 77 | 6 |
| | Muslim | 619 | 3,002 | 627 |
| | All religions | 621 | 3,079 | 633 |
| Zaria | Church Missionary Society | 1 | 48 | 5 |
| | Sudan Interior Mission | 3 | 14 | 3 |
| | Muslim | 967 | 7,135 | 977 |
| | All religions | 971 | 7,197 | 985 |

| *Township* | *Religion or denomination* | *Schools* | *Scholars* | *Teachers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ilorin | Church Missionary Society | 1 | 20 | 1 |
| Jos | Nil | — | — | — |
| Kaduna [1] | Muslim | 3 | 82 | 7 |
| Kano | Nigerian Pastorate Church | 1 | 160 | 1 |
| | United African Church | 1 | 75 | 2 |
| Lokoja | Church Missionary Society | 1 | 144 | 12 |
| | Roman Catholic Mission | 1 | 85 | 4 |
| | Muslim | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| Minna | Sudan Interior Mission | 2 | 62 | 1 |
| Zaria | Nigerian Pastorate Church | 1 | 65 | 1 |
| | Roman Catholic Mission | 1 | 72 | 1 |
| | Muslim | 1 | 45 | 4 |
| | All religions | 16 | 825 | 37 |

[1] Including Government school.

| | *Religion or denomination* | *Schools* | *Scholars* | *Teachers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *All provinces and townships* | Church Missionary Society | 58 | 1,658 | 82 |
| | Dutch Reformed Church | 2 | 57 | 5 |
| | Mennonite Brethren in Christ | 3 | 95 | 5 |
| | Nigerian Pastorate Church | 2 | 225 | 2 |
| | Roman Catholic Mission | 5 | 350 | 10 |
| | Seventh Day Adventists | 1 | 32 | 3 |
| | Sudan Interior Mission | 18 | 225 | 22 |
| | Sudan United Mission | 13 | 247 | 31 |
| | United African Church | 1 | 75 | 2 |
| | All Christian denominations | 103 | 2,964 | 162 |
| | Muslim | 30,411 | 163,370 | 35,093 |
| | Grand total | 30,514 | 166,334 | 35,255 |
| | Percentage of Christian | 0·34 | 1·8 | 0·46 |
| | Percentage of Muslim | 99·66 | 98·2 | 99·54 |

# INDEX.

N.B.—*The tribal references are too numerous to be given in every case. The more important references only have been included.*


A

Abakwariga, i. 87, 163, 167; ii. 140.
Abayejidu, i. 74 *et seq.*
Abbassids, i. 69.
Abdallah-es-Zohri, i. 73.
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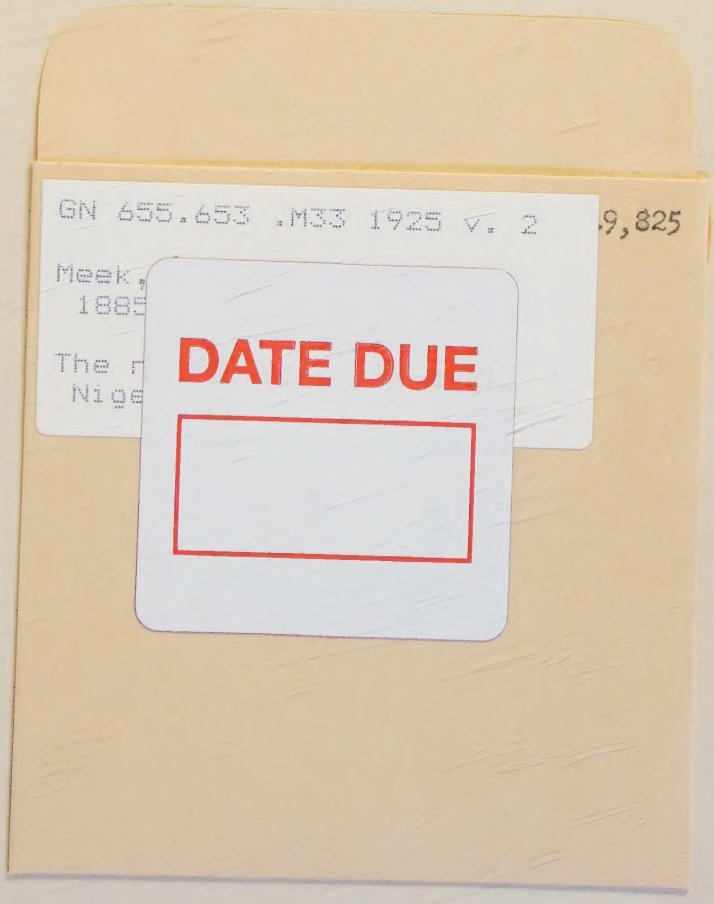
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